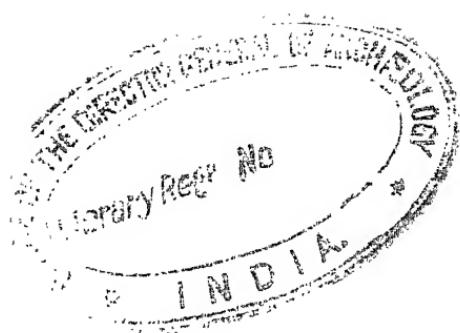


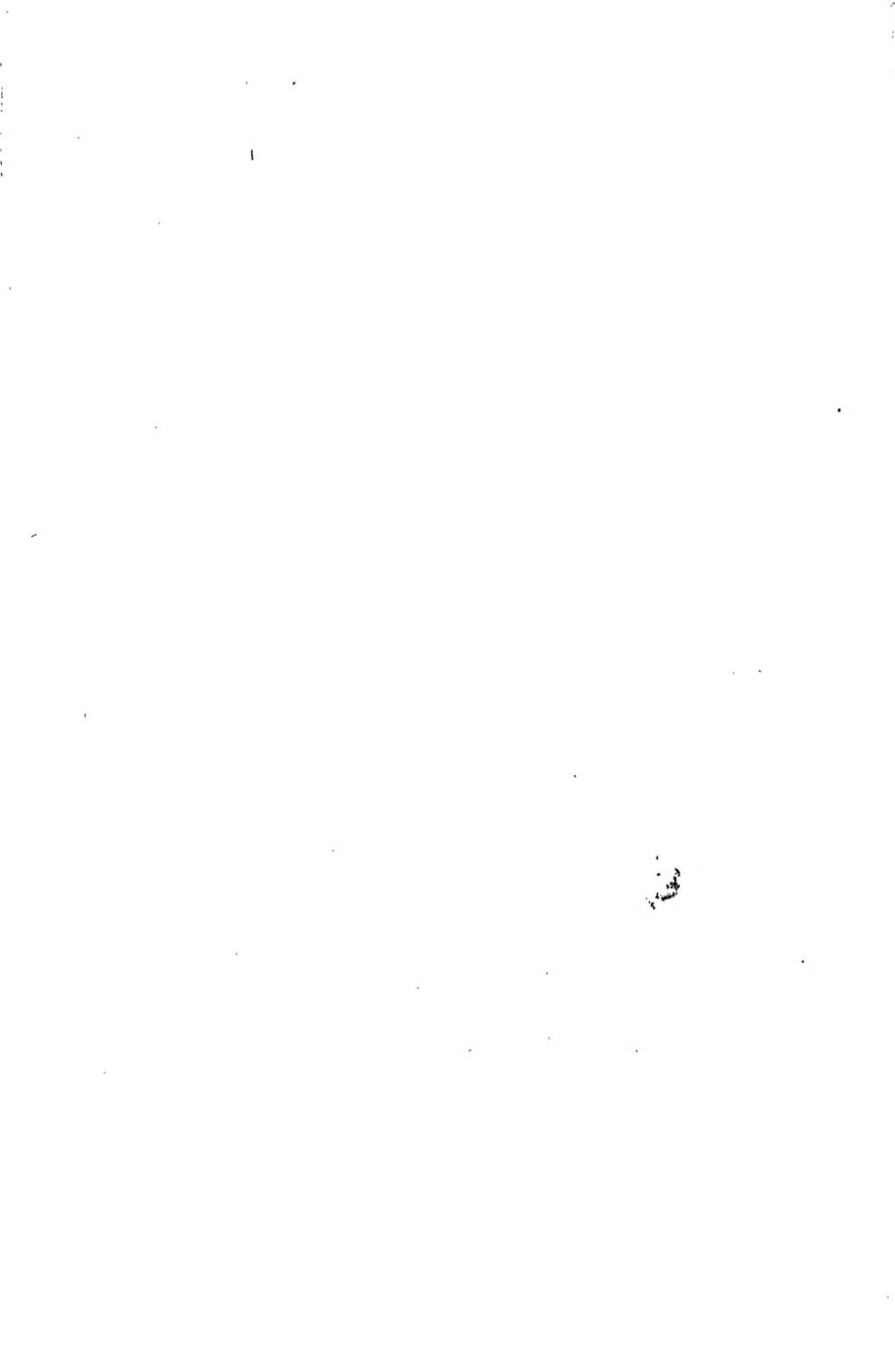
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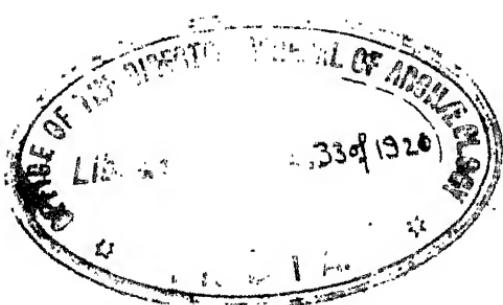
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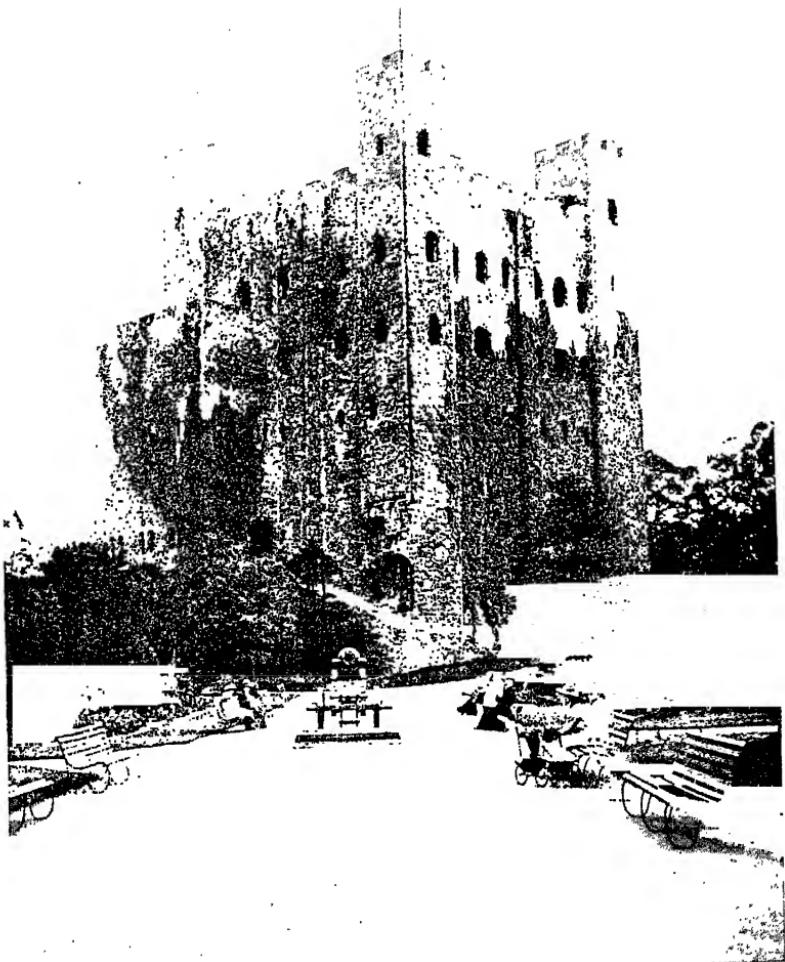
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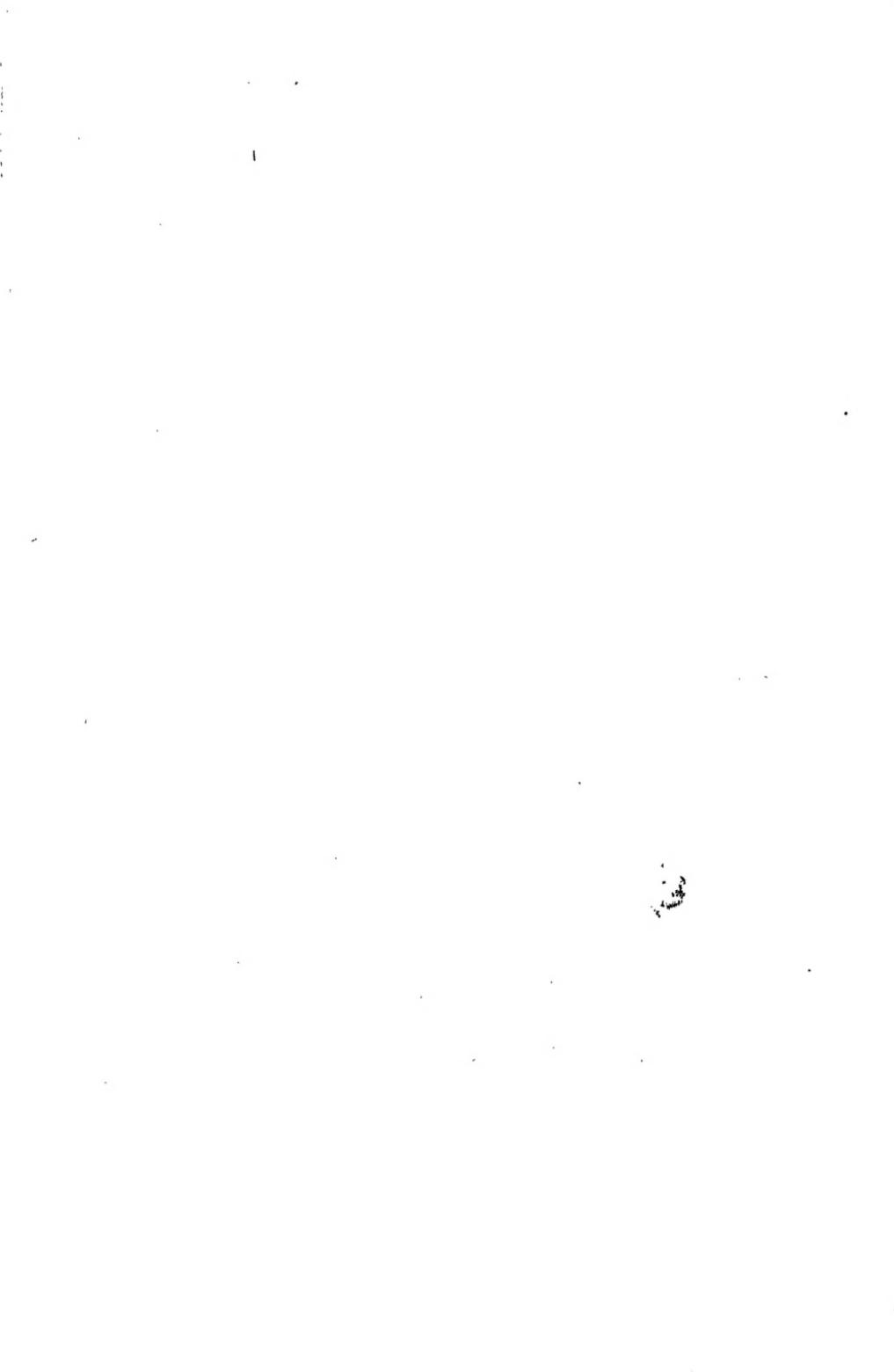


CASTLES OF
ENGLAND AND WALES





ROCHESTER



CASTLES OF ENGLAND AND WALES

BY
HERBERT A. EVANS

38815

WITH THIRTY-FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS
AND THIRTY-THREE PLANS



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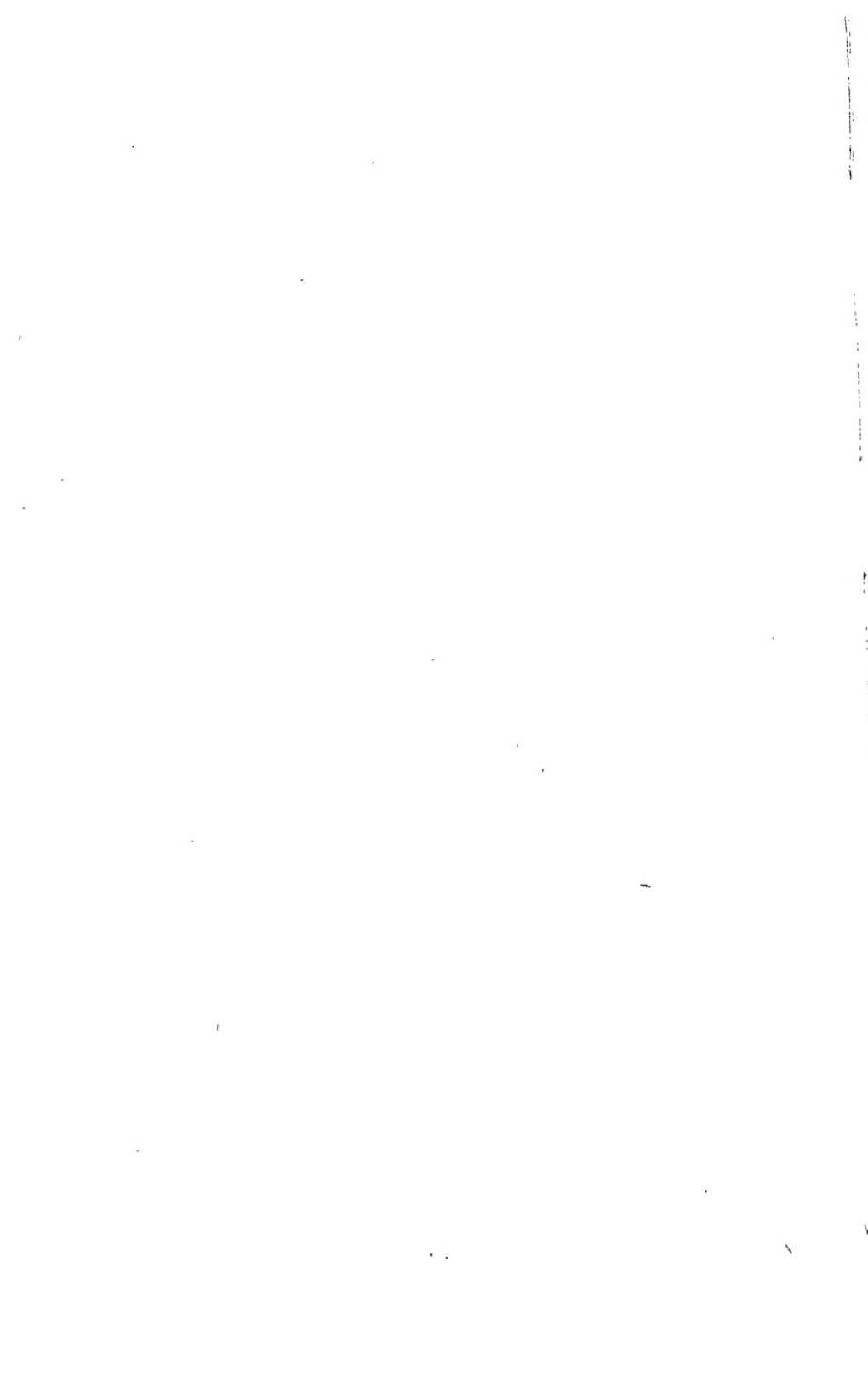
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TO
A. G. E



P R E F A C E

DETAILED accounts of our ancient castles are to be found either in works dealing with a particular district or scattered throughout the journals of our numerous learned societies, national or local. Clark's book of 1884 was a collected reprint of articles which he had contributed through a long series of years to *The Builder*, *The Archaeological Journal*, and the *Transactions* of various county associations, and Sir James Mackenzie's two handsome volumes of 1897, dealing as they did with 660 English castles, though of these 270 were no longer existent, necessarily contained but a summary notice of each.

The treatment possible in the present book is naturally on a much more modest scale than that of a monograph devoted to one particular example only, but I believe that this is the first attempt to include in a single volume anything like a full description of any considerable number. For the purpose of this book I have visited each of the thirty-three castles which it includes, and I have availed myself of the best architectural accounts of each that I could find. My obligations to Clark in particular are a matter of course, and in the field of military architecture

he must long remain the first. To the descriptions I have added a brief sketch of the fortunes of each building, and the part (if any) which it has played in the history of the country.

Some readers may perhaps demur to the omission of a castle in which they are specially interested, but a selection had to be made, and it is hoped that it is fairly representative. With one exception all castles of which the original foundation is later than the year 1300 have been excluded. With the fourteenth century the military importance of these buildings begins to be merely secondary. Later additions to earlier castles are dealt with in their proper place.

The plans are taken, with the necessary alterations, from the 25-inch Ordnance Survey, and are therefore all on the same scale. I regret that in a volume of this size it has not been found possible to give detailed or sectional plans of the more interesting portions, but such may be found in the special articles to which reference is made. The word *ditch* has generally been employed in the text rather than *moat* (which occurs in some of the plans) owing to the association of the latter with the idea of water, and the term *keep* has been retained as a convenient one, and in general use. The word in this sense is not however older than the time of Elizabeth, the thing in question having been previously spoken of as the *magna turris* or Great Tower.

It is the structural rather than the romantic interest of these buildings that needs an interpreter, and with this accordingly the following pages are mainly concerned, but it may be noted that the cult of the "Picturesque" was, like the word itself, an invention of the eighteenth century. Ruins then became the fashion—original if possible, but if not an imitation might serve :

Ah ! happy thou, if one superior rock
Bear on its brow the shivered fragment huge
Of some old Norman fortress : happier far,
Ah then most happy, if thy vale below
Wash with the crystal coolness of its rills,
Some mould'ring abbey's ivy-vested wall.

At the present day however we are beginning to understand that whatever beauty the "ivy-vested wall" may have had, it was of an essentially transient kind, and that the thicker the ivy grew the less chance there was for the wall. So far indeed from a ruin *qua* ruin being our ideal, we are coming to believe that its beauty and interest have diminished in exact proportion as the agents of destruction have had free play. We do not indeed ask that our fore-fathers should have kept their military holds intact when the need for them had passed away, and their historic and romantic interest was a thing of the distant future, nor can we do more than deplore the numerous positive acts of vandalism perpetrated by succeeding generations ; but we may reasonably claim that we should now as a nation awaken to our own responsibilities in the matter,

and should be eager to do what we can to hand down to our descendants the monuments that are still spared to us.

There is indeed the less excuse for indifference or despair now that modern science has shown us how by such devices as the Greathead grouting machine, so successfully employed by Sir Francis Fox at Winchester Cathedral and elsewhere, cracked and even tottering masonry may without detriment to its historic interest be made as strong as adamant, and how a tower that has stood for seven or eight hundred years may be made to stand for at least as long again.

HERBERT A. EVANS

YARNTON, OXFORD,

August 1912

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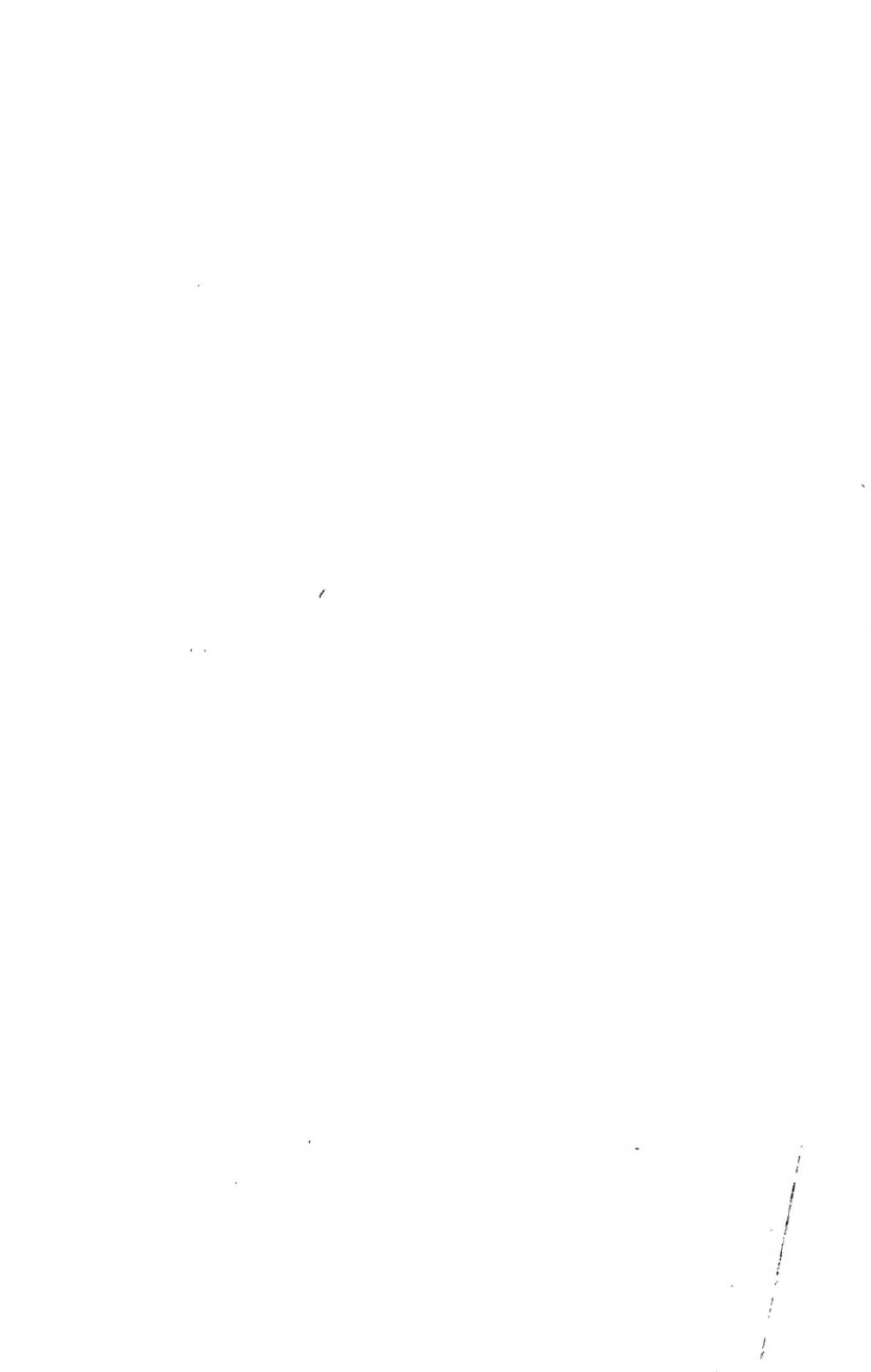
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CASTLES OF ENGLAND AND WALES

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTORY

AMONG the many arts that Western Europe owed to the Romans that of fortification was by no means the least important, and under the rule of the Carlovingians, in accordance with the Roman tradition, it continued to be employed for the defence of the community rather than of the individual; that is, it was the town, and not the private house, that was fortified. But when the empire of Charlemagne was split up into a multitude of independent or semi-independent states, and the Northmen established themselves in Gaul, a great change took place. Henceforward an array of battlements and towers ceased to be the mark only of the town; the suzerain of every petty state, and the numerous territorial chiefs who owed him allegiance, each began to entrench himself in his own private stronghold.

In this way the CASTLE, in the proper acceptation of the term, came into existence; it was in fact the product of the feudal system and the home of the feudal lord.

The history of military architecture is now concerned quite as much with the private fortress as with the fortified town, and for several centuries the former played as influential a part in military history as the latter. It is true that the castle was sometimes placed in connection with a walled town, and in this case it was always built close to the *enceinte*, in order that its communications with the surrounding district might not be broken by the fall or revolt of the town; but it was more often to be found standing alone in the open country, on the banks of some navigable river or on the line of some ancient road. In such a situation the humbler dwellings of his dependents soon began to cluster round the castle of the lord, and there they lived in safety under his protection, while in return their industries ministered to his necessities. To this interchange of services many a flourishing town of the present day owes its origin.

In this country the Saxon inhabitants had no more need of the private fortress than the subjects of Charlemagne, and even fortified towns are hardly heard of before the incursions of the Danes. Before that time the urban fortifications which existed were chiefly those of such Roman towns as had escaped destruction. The castle, the invariable characteristic of the fief, came in with the Normans. And it then served its true purpose, for the enemy that the Norman conqueror had to guard himself against was not a public one, but either a rival baron or a subjugated and insurgent neighbourhood.

What, then, it will be asked, was the kind of fortress introduced by the Normans into these islands? In other words, what was the "castle" which they

had already been accustomed to erect in their own country? A clear answer is given to this question by the Bayeux Tapestry, a work of art contemporary, or almost contemporary, with the Conquest. The *castella* here depicted leave no doubt as to what they were. In every instance what we see is an earthen mound surmounted by a wooden tower. The foot of the mound is girded by a ditch, and its flat summit is fenced in with a palisade. A flight of wooden steps rises from the counterscarp of the ditch to the top of the mound, and apparently even horses are capable of ascending them. This rudimentary contrivance must, however, before long have been replaced by a drawbridge and by steps cut in the slope of the mound itself. The examples where the scene is laid in Normandy are of course completed works, but the artist has taken care to represent the *castellum* at Hastings as in course of erection by the newcomers, and it is obvious that this kind of fortification is one which could be very quickly thrown up by an army of invasion who were anxious to secure their conquests; in point of fact it is found all over England, and in all parts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland into which the Normans penetrated.

It may, no doubt, be objected that this is no proof that the Normans were the first to throw up these mounds: they found them here, it may be said, on their arrival, and all they did was to adapt them to their own purposes. A dozen years ago, or even less, this was the view generally held, and until excavations have been undertaken in a larger number of the mounds, it will not be safe to be too sweeping in our rejection of

it,¹ but the general trend of recent investigation has been to establish the conclusion that they cannot as a rule be assigned to a date earlier than the Norman invasion. Not that artificial mounds of an earlier time do not exist in this country—the gigantic example of Silbury Hill alone is ample evidence to the contrary, and in the very nature of things there is no reason why peoples in the most elementary stages of civilization should not have raised such structures if they had had occasion for them. The men of the stone or bronze ages, who reared the great earthen forts which crown our hill-tops, might with equal readiness have thrown up a mound on the lower ground, had this kind of fortification been suitable to the peculiar circumstances of their time, and, as a matter of fact, in the United States of America such mounds do exist, dating at any rate from before the coming of the white man. All that is here contended for is that the defensive mounds with which we are now concerned are in the majority of instances, if not in all, the work of the Normans, and not, as was formerly supposed, of the Danes or Saxons.

This mound, or *motte* in French—a word which has given us the English *mote*, a hill, and *moat*, a ditch usually filled with water—is rarely found without a court or bailey attached to it, and hence the expression “mound and bailey,” or “mote and bailey,” to denote this type of fortification in general. Oftenest round, but sometimes oval or even square, the mound was from 10 to 100 feet in height, and from 300 to

¹ Thus the mound of the great Norman castle of Duffield, a castle long destroyed, has been found to contain Anglo-Saxon remains. At first sight this would seem to be satisfactory proof of the Saxon origin of the mound. It is, however, possible that the Normans may have worked up the earth from a Saxon settlement.

1,000 feet in circumference. Except in a few instances, of which Berkeley is one, it was surrounded by its own ditch, with which the ditch of the bailey usually communicated, thus forming a continuous entrenchment round the whole fortress. Occasionally it stands entirely within the bailey, in which case there would be a double ring of ditch, but as a rule it projects from one side of the bailey, so that the whole has a rough resemblance to a figure of 8 or to an hour-glass of two unequal parts. The ditches are almost always dry. Only here and there did the neighbourhood of water give facilities for flooding them. On the scarp and counterscarp they were generally surrounded with palisades. The bailey thus enclosed contained the retainers' quarters, and was entered through a gap in the *vallum*, defended of course by a gate; in some instances there was no gap, and the top was reached by steps. The wooden tower or *bretasche*¹ on the summit of the mound was of three stages, the lowest being used for stores and the others for the housing of the lord and his family. When the castle was situated on tolerably level ground, as was generally the case, the mound was necessarily artificial—Arundel, Clun, and Farnham are examples—but in other instances a natural hill with its sides more or less scarped, as at Corfe or Pontefract, would serve every purpose. Occasionally a second bailey is found attached to one side of the first to contain the cattle required for the use of the establishment.

To return to the question of the inception of this

¹ In the fourteenth century this word came to be applied to the wooden galleries thrown out from the battlements of walls and towers and noticed later on.

type of fortress. The first to examine it scientifically was the late George Thomas Clark, an authority of the first rank. He defined it as "a moated mound with a table-top, and a base court, also moated, either appended to one side, or within which it stands," and he afterwards drew up a list of all the English and Welsh examples known to him.¹ But he did not stop here. The Saxon Chronicle records the fortifying by the son and daughter of Alfred—Edward the Elder and Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians—of several places called *buhrs*, and Clark, finding that mound-and-bailey works exist at many of these places, jumped to the conclusion that it was this mound and bailey that "constituted a Buhr."² This dictum, emanating from such a source, met with universal acceptance, and it was not till 1894 that it was first impugned by Dr. Horace Round in the *Quarterly Review*. Since then the question has been investigated by several competent scholars,³ and the majority have come to a conclusion adverse to Clark's theory. A buhr, they have succeeded in showing, was something very different from a castle of the mound-and-bailey or any other type. The evidence which has led to this result may now be briefly summarized.

And first for the meaning of the word. Buhr, the modern English borough, though its first meaning seems to have been a protective enclosure of any kind, soon passed to the thing enclosed. Thus the Anglo-Saxon homestead, with its surrounding fence to guard it against the inroads of wolves, would be a buhr, but

¹ *Archæological Journal* for 1889. Not far short of three hundred examples are enumerated.

² *Mediæval Military Architecture*, vol. i. p. 19.

³ See the list of references at the end of this chapter.

by Alfred's time, when men began to take defensive measures against the Danes—and we hear but very little of Saxon fortification before then—it usually signified a fortified town. This appears from the fact that both in Alfred's translation of Orosius and in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels of the eleventh century, the word is used as a translation of *civitas*, while Florence of Worcester, writing in the early part of the twelfth century, equates it with *urbs*. Further, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 942 speaks of the five towns of the Danelaw as the *fif burga*, and the pictures of buhrs in the Anglo-Saxon MSS. are those of fortified towns. Lastly, in only ten out of the twenty-five buhrs recorded by the Chronicle to have been "wrought" by Edward and his sister, and now capable of identification, is there any mound-and-bailey work to be found, and in all but two of these ten there is recorded proof of the existence there of a Norman castle. A buhr, then, is evidently not a castle, but a fortified town; nor do we hear of these mound-and-bailey works under any other name, until they make their appearance as *castels* (castles)¹ in the time of Edward the Confessor. We then hear of them as novelties introduced by the Norman favourites of that King, and as unpopular with his English subjects. The first mention of them that we have is in the Chronicle under the year 1048, when the Normans set up a castle in Herefordshire, "and wrought every harm and insult to the King's men thereabout that they could." This is believed to be the castle of Osbern Pentecost at Ewias Harold, where the mound and bailey may still be

¹ The word *castellum* in pre-Conquest English records means a little *castrum* or town.

seen.¹ The only other castles known to have been built in England before the Conquest are Richard's Castle, also in Herefordshire, and Robert's Castle at Clavering in Essex.²

The truth is, as we have already indicated, that under the Saxon rule the castle had no *raison d'être*. The Saxon thegn lived in peace among his neighbours and not in the midst of a hostile population, and his wooden mansion or "hall" was fenced at most by a hedge or a palisade. Such a habitation, easily destroyed and easily rebuilt, could offer but little resistance to a horde of invaders, and Ordericus Vitalis, who was a boy at the time of the Conqueror's death, attributes his easy conquest of the country to the absence of castles which might have held him in check. But after the establishment of William on the throne the castle began to become a familiar feature in the land. Some, such as London and Colchester, were built by the order of the King himself, others by the great nobles to whom he granted the estates of the English proprietors. At the same time there was no ratio between the number of great nobles and the number of castles, for as a safeguard against the evils of which he had had too much experience across the sea—the upspringing, that is, of too powerful rivals—he took care that the numerous manors which he heaped upon his chief supporters should not be massed together in a single area, but scattered widespread over the country, so that instead

¹ This identification, as well as that of Clavering, is due to Dr. J. H. Round.

² The earliest mound-and-bailey castles known to history are those built by Thibault-le-Tricheur, Count of Blois, and Fulk Nerra, Count of Anjou, in the tenth century. Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, pp. 72-75.

of a single castle, each man found it necessary to have one for the security of each parcel of his lands, and wherever possible he would select for its site the vicinity of ancient roads or waterways, which would give him easy access from one of his estates to another.

Mrs. Armitage gives a list of eighty-four castles known to have existed in England before the end of the eleventh century, a list to which further research may not improbably add others. Twelve of these (Pevensey, Arundel, Bamburgh, Berkeley, Chepstow, Corfe, Pontefract, Richmond, Rochester, Colchester, Carlisle, and Norham)¹ are described in the present volume, and of these Arundel, Berkeley, and Rochester (Boley Hill) have artificial, and Corfe, Pontefract, and Norham natural mounds. To these, in the absence of actual record, we may provisionally add Alnwick, Clun, Conisborough, and Ludlow. In Wales the eleventh-century castles are Pembroke and Kidwelly, both mentioned by Mrs. Armitage.

All these, except Pevensey, London, Colchester, and possibly Bramber, were no doubt originally built of wood. With these exceptions stone does not seem to have been employed at all for castle-building before the middle of the reign of Henry I, and its use was not general till the second half of the twelfth century had set in. Timber was at hand in abundance, and as has already been remarked, a timber

¹ The claim of Norham to a place in Mrs. Armitage's list (*Early Norman Castles*, p. 172) is, however, very doubtful. Bishop Ranulf was not consecrated till June 1099, and lived till 1129. Roger de Hoveden ascribes his foundation of Norham to the year 1121 (see below, p. 34), and the continuator of Simeon of Durham (*Rolls Series* i. 140) only mentions it among the architectural works which he undertook after his return from Normandy, whither he had fled after his escape from the Tower, in which he had been confined by Henry I.

castle was soon put together. Stone would have required quarrying, hewing, and perhaps carting from a distance, not to mention that an earthen mound of recent construction would hardly be in a condition to sustain its weight. In fact wood continued to be employed long after stone walls and towers had become common, and we hear of its use as late as the time of Henry III and even of Edward I. In the civil wars of Stephen's reign, when rapid construction was again an object, the numerous so-called adulterine castles, because erected without the royal licence,¹ were no doubt mostly of timber, and were afterwards the more readily destroyed. For wooden towers and curtains obviously had this great disadvantage, that they were easily burnt, and in the Bayeux Tapestry the besiegers are shown in the very act of setting fire to the wooden castle of Dinan.

But as the country became more settled under Henry II, wooden fortifications began to give place to those of stone. The simplest way in which this alteration could take place was by substituting a stone curtain for the stockades which fenced in the bailey and the table-top of the mound, and at the same time replacing the wooden entrance towers—of which there would be one at the entrance to the bailey and also one at the foot of the mound—with gatehouses of stone. Or perhaps the mound only might be walled in the first instance, leaving the bailey defences to be remodelled later on. As for the wooden keep, it might have been retained much longer than is commonly supposed, with or without additional wooden buildings erected round

¹ In theory the King's licence was always requisite for the building of a castle, but it must have often suited the Conqueror to waive his prerogative in this respect and give his barons a free hand,

the inside of the wall. This must have been a question of space, but at any rate, when the tower had disappeared, there is no question that a range of such buildings took its place.

The summit of the mound thus walled is what Clark termed a Shell Keep. Like the square keep or *Tower*, it was the strongest part of the castle, and was capable of being held after the rest had fallen; but give it what name you will, it was in point of fact a kind of small inner bailey at a higher level than the outer one at the foot of the mound. Its shape varied with that of the mound—circular, oval, polygonal, or even square—and its diameter varied from 30 to 100 feet. Common as it must once have been, the Shell Keep had not the solid strength of the Tower, and it has been less able, therefore, to withstand the ravages of time. Hence examples in any tolerable state of preservation are extremely rare. Those included in this volume are Arundel, Berkeley, Pontefract, Alnwick, and Clun. At Clun and Guildford a square keep was afterwards built against the side of the mound.

It is the Square Keep which is associated in the popular mind with the Norman castle, and this was the usual form of keep adopted in the first three quarters of the twelfth century. It contained the living rooms of the lord and quarters for a certain number of soldiers. Others may have been housed in wooden barracks, but it was not till the thirteenth century that elaborate domestic buildings in the bailey began to supersede the keep as the residence of the baronial family.

Examples of twelfth-century rectangular keeps erected on eleventh-century fortified but moundless sites are Carlisle, Chepstow, Richmond, and Bamburgh;

on new sites, Kenilworth, Castle Rising, Portchester (on a Roman site), and Brougham. Corfe and Norham were built on natural mounds, Rochester within the former enceinte, but a short distance from the mound. Very rarely were they built upon an artificial mound, Clark mentions as instances Saffron Walden, Mileham (Norfolk), Bungay, and Bramber, but "at Christchurch and Mileham the mound is low, and the keep walls seem to be carried through it to the solid ground."¹

These keeps are seldom mathematical squares ; of those included in this volume only Corfe, Rochester, and Brougham will be found to comply with this test. They are generally rather longer one way than the other, and Chepstow, no doubt owing to the long, narrow platform of rock on which it stands, is more than twice as long as broad. Colchester, which measures 152 feet by 111 feet, covers a remarkable area for its height, but there is good reason to believe that it was formerly twice as high as it is at present, and it must then have been the finest square tower in the kingdom, finer even than those of London and Norwich. To-day the honours must be divided between Rochester and Hedingham in Essex.

Besides the ground floor or basement, there were generally three upper stages, rarely one (Chepstow, Kenilworth, Castle Rising) or two only (Corfe) ; but sometimes the third storey (Richmond, Norham, Bamburgh, Portchester, Brougham) was a later addition. The larger keeps are partitioned off into two divisions by a cross-wall, thus giving two main rooms on each floor, some of which were probably further divided by wooden partitions. At Castle Rising the northern

¹ *Mediaeval Military Architecture*, vol. i. p. 122.

chamber is divided by an arcade, but Colchester stands alone in having two solid cross-walls. The basement was always, as had been the case in the *bretasche*, appropriated to stores, the first floor—when there was more than one upper stage—was assigned to the men at arms, and on the second floor were the hall and other living rooms of the lord and his family. The third floor would contain bedrooms and women's apartments. Room would always be found for a chapel, or at least a small oratory, and sometimes, as at Rochester and Castle Rising, for a kitchen. The question of the kitchen arrangements in connection with these keeps is, however, generally more or less of a puzzle. Sometimes, as was certainly the case later, the kitchen may have been a separate building in the bailey, but in early Norman times it is probable that the cooking was done over the hall fire.

Sometimes there is a mural gallery running round the upper part of the walls of the hall, with openings looking down into the room and therefore answering to the triforium of the church. The best example is to be found at Rochester; that at Bamburgh is now on a level with the inserted third floor, and at Castle Rising, where it is carried along one side only, it is at the floor level.

At Rochester only is there a subterranean chamber beneath the basement, for those at Colchester were excavated in modern times beneath a purely structural vaulting. The underground dungeons or cellars at Berkeley, Alnwick, Arundel, and Pontefract, have of course nothing to do with the square keep to which our attention is now confined. Light, to very limited extent, and air were given to the basement and first floor by long narrow loops, which can have been of

no use for defensive purposes : the development of the loop in this direction came later. The upper floors, being out of the reach of battering engines and not easily penetrated by missiles, were furnished with windows of a larger size. At Richmond the first floor has, exceptionally, three large windows, but on this side the tower was covered by the barbican. The floors were always of timber, but in some instances, with the view of guarding against fire, the basement has afterwards been vaulted over. This was done at Carlisle, Portchester, Brougham, Richmond, and Bamburgh. The various floors were connected by a well stair or vice contained in one of the angle turrets, and sometimes secondary stairs leading from the hall floor to the battlements are found in another turret. Besides the galleries already mentioned, the walls, 7 to 14 feet thick, gave plenty of room for mural chambers and garderobes ; at Castle Rising the garderobes are all placed on the side of the keep farthest from the entrance, and at Corfe a projecting annex was built against one side to receive them.

The roofs were originally sloping, of one, or, when there was a cross-wall, of two ridges covered with shingles. In the latter case there would, of course, be a central as well as two lateral gutters. The roofs were concealed by the parapet, and not visible from below ; hence the only means of commanding the foot of the tower from the top must have been from a walk or allure carried round the top of the walls and protected by a parapet, or from the square turrets at the angles. At this time the ramparts, from which stones and other missiles could be hurled down upon the head of an attacking party, gave the defenders almost their only means of annoying the enemy. It

was their solid strength that enabled these great towers to hold out against a long siege, and they afforded but few facilities for acting on the offensive, but later, as military science advanced, the gable roofs were often removed, and the space they occupied filled by an additional storey with a flat roof covered with lead, on which projectiles could be mounted.

The early keeps were entered on the first floor by a movable ladder or a flight of permanent steps. There was no entrance at the ground level, though at Colchester and elsewhere one was afterwards cut through the wall, and the basement could therefore only be entered from the floor above. But in the twelfth century, in all the larger keeps, the entrance was generally protected by a subsidiary structure now usually termed a fore-building. The most important part of what must have been a very fine example remains at Rochester, but the most perfect described in this volume is that at Castle Rising. At any rate these two will enable us to arrive at some idea of what the thing was. It was a building applied to the side of the keep containing the entrance, and giving the approach a treble protection; in other words, no less than three outer doors had to be forced before the door of the keep itself could be reached. It was, in fact, a parapeted staircase with its inner side built against the keep wall. At the bottom was a low tower containing a gateway, half way up was a landing with a second gateway, and at the top a third gateway set in another tower, perhaps two-thirds the height of the keep. It is this tower which remains at Rochester, and it contained the vestibule into which the entrance of the keep opened. The square keeps described in this volume which have forebuildings are at Rochester,

Corfe, Kenilworth, Castle Rising, Norham, Portchester, and Brougham. Fore-buildings are also found at Berkeley and at Orford, but as a rule they occur only in connexion with the rectangular keep.

We have seen that in the early Norman period the keep, whether of the shell or square type, was the residence of the lord and of a certain number of his retainers; it constituted, in fact, by far the most important part of the castle. The buildings contained in the bailey, even after it had received a curtain of stone, were probably little more than wooden ranges of barracks or stabling. But after the middle of the twelfth century the accommodation afforded by the keep began to be regarded as too cramped to suit the growing standard of comfort and the increasing number of armed dependents maintained by the owner of the castle. Hence, separate "houses," as they were called, comprising a chapel, hall, and other apartments, began to be erected in the bailey, and the keep came to be looked upon more and more as a citadel of refuge after the outer defences had fallen. This was, however, a gradual process of transition, and the middle of the thirteenth century had passed before the new state of things can be considered as generally established. In the fourteenth century the fashion was carried still further, and the castle became less and less a military stronghold and more and more a luxurious palace.

But apart from the growth of luxury an important factor in the development of the castle was the improvement in the arts of attack and defence, which finally produced the concentric castle, of which the earliest and the most complete example in Britain is to be found at Caerphilly. The first step in advance was the

abandonment of the square keep, which went entirely out of fashion after the death of Henry II. As we have seen, it relied almost entirely on its passive strength, and as long as its stores held out it had little to fear while siege-craft was in its infancy. But it had one weak point: if the enemy had once carried the defences of the bailey and made his way up to the foot of the tower, he might set men to undermine one of the angles and soon effect a breach. This is what happened at Rochester in 1215, when the whole of the south-eastern corner of the tower was brought down. Accordingly, soon after the middle of the twelfth century, the square keep began to be superseded by the circular tower, of which so many were built in France before the end of the century by Philip Augustus, and which our own Richard I. employed at his famous Saucy Castle on the Seine. The finest example we have in England is at Conisborough, and the finest in Wales at Pembroke. Wherein, then, lay its advantage over its predecessor? In the first place an equally serviceable tower could be built with perhaps a third of the material required for such a gigantic structure as Colchester or Rochester; and in the next place the various stages could be more easily vaulted, thus providing additional security against fire; in France this was commonly done throughout the whole tower, but in this country, where the castles were on a less magnificent scale, it appears that the basement was the only storey usually vaulted. At Pembroke the roof is a dome of stone. Lastly, from the point of view of resistance to attack, a little consideration will make it evident that the ram could be used with greater effect against the angle of a square than against any segment of a compact circle;

on the other hand, any particular point at the foot of the circular tower could not be so effectively commanded from above.

But it was not the keep only which benefited by the adoption of the circular form. The advantage of the round bastion over the square, as allowing an assailant at the centre of the arc to be more easily seen from the adjacent curtain, had long been understood; but in the thirteenth century the projection of these mural bastions and towers was increased, thus giving them command of a wider field, and in some instances their size was so considerable as to raise them to the rank of a secondary keep. The tower at the south-east corner of Chepstow is a striking case in point, and seems to have been designed for being defended independently after the rest of the castle had fallen.

The gatehouse towers also assumed the circular shape, and are often spoken of as drum towers; sometimes, like the mural towers, they are prolonged, and on the Continent, with the object of still further increasing their flanks, sometimes terminate in a kind of point or beak.¹

As in the earlier form, the entrance to the circular keep was on the first floor; at Orford, as already noticed, it was protected by a forebuilding. The stairs sometimes, as at Conisborough, were mural, curving within the wall; but, to facilitate the independent defence of each floor, they were not continuous—on reaching the first floor the room had to be crossed to arrive at the flight leading to the second floor, and so on. Sometimes, as at Pembroke, they were spiral (a vice), contrived in the thickness of the wall. At

¹ A striking example is found at Carcassonne. Viollet-le-Duc, *Military Architecture*, Macdermott's translation, ed. 1907, pp. 121-2.

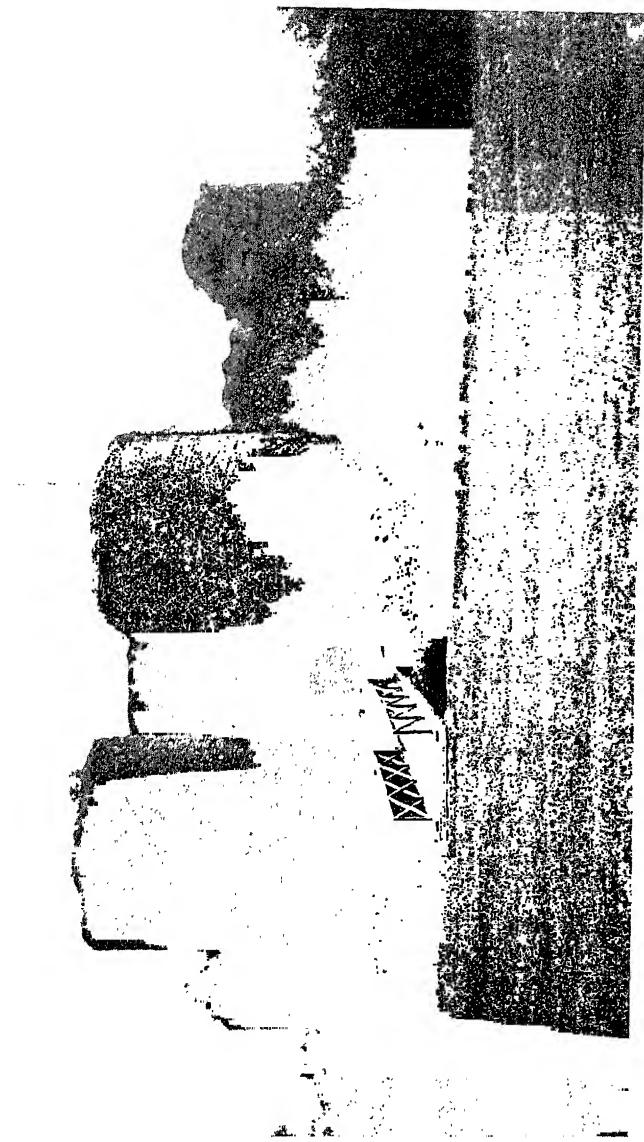
Conisborough, as in most square keeps, there are elaborate fireplaces and flues, but in Pembroke, which seems to have been less intended for the purposes of residence, there are none. Both at Conisborough and at Orford the arrangements for permanent residence are complete: even an oven is provided in both castles on the battlements.

Like its predecessors, the circular keep relied mainly upon its passive strength, and like them it was generally able to hold its own against the comparatively small forces that could be brought into the field in the twelfth century; but with the reigns of John and his son, armies no longer consisted only of the feudal tenants and the levies of the shire. The sovereign made it his practice to enlist large bands of mercenaries, whom he could keep under arms for periods limited by no set terms of service, but only by his ability to find them pay. Thus a blockade, which was formerly liable to be broken up by the return of the besiegers to their homes, could now be maintained for an indefinite period —a circumstance in itself sufficient to condemn a style of fortification which gave little or no facilities for carrying the war into the enemy's camp or for replenishing the stock of provisions. Besides this, an improvement had by this time taken place, both in the tactics of siege-craft and in the engines employed, which made the adoption of some retaliatory steps on the part of the besieged imperative. Nowhere had the art of fortification been brought to a higher pitch of perfection than in the Byzantine Empire, and the Crusaders were not slow to profit by the experience they had gained in the Levant. The fortifications of Constantinople and Antioch and many other places were something quite outside the range of their pre-

vious ideas, and on their return home they proceeded to put into practice the lessons they had learned.

The twelfth-century keep, of whatever form, now disappeared, and the bailey surrounded by a palisaded embankment, or by a stone curtain provided with few or no towers except perhaps a gatehouse, was abandoned in favour of an enclosure furnished with strong towers at the angles, and with others projecting from the intervening curtains. The gatehouses became more formidable, and besides the main entrance postern doors were provided at other parts of the *enceinte*, from which sallies could be made upon the flanks or rear of the besiegers. This was the style of castle built in the first half of the reign of Henry III. As for the older castles, the keeps were preserved, but they received additions—sometimes amounting to reconstructions—in the prevailing style. The culmination of this style was reached in the concentric castle, of which, however, no example is found in this country earlier than the end of Henry's reign. Some of the most complete examples of the concentric type are described in this volume, but of the castles of the preceding type, the fortified area—one might be tempted to call it the expanded and elaborated shell keep—the only one included is Framlingham, and a few lines may be devoted to a Monmouthshire example, White Castle, which did not, as far as is known, like Framlingham, take the place of a destroyed Norman castle on the same site.

White Castle, standing at an altitude of 500 feet, commands the passages from the mountains of the north-west to the central plain of Gwent. It consists of a large court enclosed by a curtain about 30 feet high, furnished with projecting round towers, which



WHITE CASTLE, MAIN ENTRANCE



rise some 15 or, in the case of the gatehouse towers, 30 feet higher. Two of these at the narrowest end, the north, form the gatehouse ; there are four others—one at each southern angle and one in each of the side curtains. The whole is surrounded by a ditch of great depth, down the scarp of which the outer base of the towers is carried for several feet. There is a second gate in the south curtain nearly opposite the main entrance, and approached from the east along the scarp of the ditch. The only buildings contained in the court seem to have been timber barracks with stone bases placed against the curtain. Thus even with these defences the castle must have presented a formidable obstacle to the inroads of the Welsh ; but to make it still stronger, and, by affording protection for cattle, to enable it to stand a lengthy siege, it was provided with an extensive system of outworks. North, east, and south enclosures were added, each surrounded by its own ditch, and the northern enclosure, which covered the main entrance to the castle, was further strengthened by a stone curtain furnished with mural towers and, at its south-eastern corner, by a gateway approached by a long passage between two walls. The eastern enclosure is of larger extent than the northern, the southern is smaller and is shaped like a half-moon, completely covering that side of the castle, and its ditch is as deep as the main ditch, with which it is connected.

It will be readily understood that a fortification of this kind was capable of accommodating a large garrison, which would be able to defend the castle itself long after the outworks had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and that the two entrances would make it easier for the besieged to assume the offensive,

facilitating as they did the exit and return of a sortie. But all these advantages were more fully secured by the concentric castle, which came into vogue towards the close of Henry III's reign, and with which the history of the castle as a fortress concludes. When Gilbert de Clare completed Caerphilly the last word in the development of castle-building had been spoken.

The essence of the concentric type, as the term implies, is the construction of more than one *enceinte* round a common centre. At Beaumaris—the most perfect example we have—there are two, at Kidwelly also two, but the inner ward, instead of being central, is applied to one side of the outer. The same result was attained at Ludlow by the addition of an outer ward to a pre-existing inner one. At Caerphilly and Harlech there are three, and at Kenilworth, an old Norman castle enlarged, the place of a third is, as at Caerphilly, taken by a lake. The object aimed at was of course the same as that intended to be served by outworks at such castles as Framlingham and White Castle, namely, to enable the inner ring to be held after the outer one had fallen. But, as far as the two inner rings were concerned, there was this further advantage, that the inner was contrived not only for its own defence but also for that of the outer. With this object the *enceinte* of the inner ward was much higher than that of the outer, and the space between the two curtains was so narrow that the outside of the outer one might be commanded from the battlements of the inner. Further, this narrow space was divided transversely by cross-walls, so that if the enemy had effected an entrance at one point they would be cooped up in a limited space and exposed to the concentrated fire of the garrison from the battlements of the inner ward.

The concentric type was, however, not the only one adopted at this period. Sometimes, owing to the exigencies of the site, a single enceinte, very much longer than broad, was built and then divided into two wards by a cross-wall. This was done at Conway and Carnarvon, and much the same effect was produced by the additions to older castles such as Chepstow. The hall and chapel, which we saw in the later Norman period had been established in the bailey, were erected as a rule against the curtain of the inner ward of the concentric castle, but at Beaumaris and Kidwelly the chapel is placed in a mural tower, and at Beaumaris the hall occupies the first floor of one of the gatehouses. At Conway, besides the chapel in the ward, there is a beautiful oratory in one of the towers, though hardly so highly finished as the earlier example contrived in one of the buttresses at Conisborough. In the fourteenth century, the earlier "houses" were sometimes superseded or supplemented by a range of buildings on a palatial scale, as at Kenilworth and Ludlow. But with the fourteenth century we are not specially concerned: this volume must confine itself to such additions as were then made to castles of an earlier date, and the fortified mansions which began to be built in its closing years, however much or however little they preserved the traditions of the castle, are beyond its scope.

A few words may be said with reference to what was always an important feature in the late thirteenth-century or Edwardian castle, as it is often called. This was the gatehouse. To defend the entrance to the bailey, and to provide for the raising and the lowering of the drawbridge, a gatehouse of some sort had been a necessary part of the defences even in

early Norman times, and an early example remains at Arundel. But as time went on it increased in height and depth until it became almost a small keep in itself, and capable of independent defence. There is hardly a castle dealt with in this volume of which the gate-house, whether part of the original fortress or an addition to it, is not a leading feature. In the Edwardian castle it had two projecting drum towers in front, and sometimes two others in the rear ; when this was not the case it was flat towards the ward. In the centre was the gateway, and above it, either machicolations, or an outer wall thrown across from tower to tower a couple of feet in advance of the main wall, leaving a space down which stones or beams might be let fall upon the assailants of the gate. Loops in the towers commanded the approaches and the flanking curtains on either side. In front of the door, which consisted of two leaves opening inwards, was the portcullis, a device which first appears in the thirteenth century, consisting in small doorways of an iron grate, and in larger ones of an oaken one shod with iron spikes. This was worked from the chamber above the gate. Inside the door there was often another portcullis, and then came the long entrance passage, with a porter's lodge or guardroom on either side, usually connected with a prison known as the porter's prison. The passage was commonly vaulted, and in the vault were "chases" or slits to enable the passage to be barricaded, and square or round holes called *meurtrières*, by means of which an enemy who had forced his way into the passage might be annoyed by thrusting down long pikes. The far end of the passage was secured by another pair of doors, also portcullised. The heel or inner end of the draw-

bridge worked on trunnions, and chains attached to its outer end passed through holes in the gatehouse above the portal. If the ditch to be crossed was a narrow one the outer end of the drawbridge when lowered rested upon its counterscarp; if wide, upon a pier rising out of the ditch, the rest of the space being crossed by a permanent bridge: but opposite the great outer gatehouse at Caerphilly there were two drawbridges, one on either side of the central pier. Conway is peculiar among Edwardian castles in having no gatehouse, but there is an outer and inner gate with a wide ditch between them, and the approach is at right angles to the principal entrance, which consists merely of a gateway set in the curtain, but provided with a portcullis.

The curtain walls in Norman times, and even later, were composed of two parallel walls, the space between them being filled up with earth. One of the most extraordinary instances is that of the south curtain of the lower ward at Chepstow, which belongs to the earlier part of the thirteenth century and is 18 feet thick. In the later castles they are of solid stone, and are sometimes penetrated by mural galleries, as at Caerphilly, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris. The mural towers of these later castles have already been noticed. In some cases, as at Corfe and Chepstow, their lower portions are filled with earth.

The methods of attacking a castle remained very much the same during the whole period with which we are concerned—that is, roughly speaking, 1066 to 1350—though in the latter part of it, as already noticed, some improvements were introduced by the Crusaders. There was of course the simplest of all, the escalade, but this would be useless against

a Norman keep, and one would think could only be attempted as a surprise or under cover of a very heavy and well-directed fire against any other part of the *enceinte*. Moreover the ditch would have to be filled in with fascines before the ladders could be planted against the walls. More success might be hoped from the mine, but this could only be employed when the castle was built on a soft soil and at no great elevation above the general level of the ground. A tunnel would then be run under the bottom of the ditch to the foundations, which would be breached, and the superstructure propped up with balks of timber covered with pitch or grease. The cavity would then be filled with combustibles, and the whole set on fire, thus bringing down the rest of the masonry above.

For battering the walls the most ancient device was the ram. It consisted of a huge beam fitted with an enormous head to do the butting, and was suspended by chains between two upright posts. It is said to have required from forty to sixty men to draw it back as far as the chains allowed, and it was then let go to pound with all its force against the wall. Another device was the bore or pick, a long pole shod with iron which was inserted between the stones of the wall to loosen them and dislodge them one by one. This must, however, have been a lengthy business, and of little use as a rule. The workers of both instruments were protected by a long shed moving on wheels, and called a "cat" or a "sow." Its roof was exposed to the heavy missiles thrown by the defenders, from the battlements, and was therefore made as strong as possible, and both roof and sides were usually covered with raw hides

as a protection against fire. The same precaution was necessary for the movable tower, which when once the ditch had been filled with fascines could be brought right up to the walls. Its summit was provided with a drawbridge which could be lowered on to the top of the wall, and the assailants then attempted to take the place by a rush. If it was found impossible to bring it close enough to let down the bridge, it could at any rate command the battlements from the counterscarp of the ditch, and from its summit showers of missiles could be poured upon the defenders. The attacking force also provided themselves with mantlets or screens of stakes or boards fastened together, and generally covered with hides: these they used to cover their advance and protect themselves from the fire of the garrison.

The weapons used by defenders and assailants alike would be the spear, the dart, the sword, and the short-bow, drawn to the chest. The long-bow, drawn to the ear, was only coming into use at the end of the thirteenth century, but the cross-bow was introduced in the time of Richard I. The artillery or siege engines employed were entirely superseded by the invention of gunpowder, and a few lines must be devoted to them. A common name for any machine for hurling stones was petraria (*petraria*), but Professor Oman in his *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, who notices the loose way in which the names of military engines are employed by the chroniclers, has succeeded in clearing up the subject by dividing them into three classes based upon the method of propulsion. The propelling force is produced either by Torsion, Tension, or Counterpoise.

A machine worked by torsion was the mangonel.

This consisted of two strong posts united by two sets of ropes ; a beam is then inserted between the two sets and twisted round so as to force the ropes in opposite directions. The end where the operator stands is furnished with a spoon-shaped cavity or a sling containing the projectile, and when he releases the beam the sudden untwisting of the ropes generates a force which hurls the stone a considerable distance. This machine was difficult to work, and the condition of the ropes was liable to be affected by the weather, but it had the advantage of being able to cast missiles over the walls into the interior of the castle.

Worked by tension was the balista, a gigantic cross-bow the cord of which was stretched back by winches, and fixed in notches on the stock. It discharged bolts or long javelins and was capable of much more accurate aim than the mangonel. Professor Oman has no doubt that it was the parent of the hand cross-bow. Towards the end of the thirteenth century a form of balista or catapult mounted upon wheels appears under the name of a springal and was used as a light movable field piece.

The mangonel and the balista were in use throughout the Middle Ages. Engines worked by a counterpoise do not appear till quite the end of the twelfth century. The chief of these was the trebuchet. This was a long pole thicker at one end than the other. At its pointed end it so far resembled the mangonel that it was furnished with a spoon-shaped cavity or a sling. About one-quarter of its length from the butt it was fixed upon a pivot between two uprights ; a basket of heavy stones or weights was fastened to the butt end, and the pointed end was then forced down by winches and secured by catches.

When let go the counterpoise fell and the missile was discharged in a great parabolic curve.

At the beginning of our period there was little or no opportunity for the employment of any of these engines by the defenders of the castle; but as time went on, and towers with flat roofs began to be constructed, it was not impossible to mount a catapult or a trebuchet upon them, and reply to the fire of the besiegers. Besides the ordinary missiles it was also possible to discharge combustibles, which seem to have been employed with much effect both by besiegers and besieged. But there was one device of the besieged which was peculiarly liable to destruction by fire. This was the wooden gallery or hoard which towards the end of the twelfth century it became the practice to run out round the summit of a tower or along the battlements of a curtain. Even at the present day, just below the top of certain castle towers, or over a gateway, the square holes may be seen through which the beams for supporting a gallery of this kind were thrust out. Upright posts were fitted to the end of these beams, and the whole structure, when roofed and floored, provided a continuous gallery projecting from the tower, and entered from the battlements in the rear. The floor was provided with machicolations through which stones and other missiles could be dropped upon the heads of an enemy below. There were also narrow openings in the front screen for the discharge of arrows and darts. Sometimes, in order to protect them from fire, these hoards were covered with raw hides or coated with plaster. In the later castles, instead of beams thrust out from the wall, a row of stone corbels with machicolations between them was built into the

wall and the hoard erected on these, and in this country, at any rate, the hoard seems to have always been of a temporary character, put up in times of danger only; in times of peace the timbers were taken down and stored within the castle. On the Continent, however, their place was taken in the fourteenth century by permanent galleries or *bretasches*, as they now began to be called, of stone. These were of course much safer against fire, but the change is altogether in harmony with the style of the continental fortresses, which were designed on a much more elaborate scale than ours.¹ In later castles in England, such as Raglan, we sometimes find a continuous machicolation round the tops of the towers, but these openings are accessible from the parapet walk itself, and not from any projecting gallery or *bretasche*.

It has been seen that the loops in early Norman castles were intended only for the admission of light and air. Arrows and other missiles were discharged only from the battlements, but with the introduction of the cross-bow loops were constructed for defensive purposes as well. They were now not merely splayed within, but niches had to be provided in the sides of the splay for the accommodation of the archers. A common form is the cross-loop, and it has been suggested that this was intended to allow three or four archers to fire a volley. However this may be, there is no doubt that the triangle splayed outwards and downwards at the base of the loop, such as we find at Corfe and Kenilworth for example, was intended to enable the cross-bowman to fire upon an enemy at the base of the

¹ The reader will find the whole subject of the hoard or *bretasche* lucidly illustrated and explained in Viollet-le-Duc's *Military Architecture*.

tower. These defensive loops are specially characteristic of the thirteenth century. In the next century, owing to the improvements in the art of mining, the lower parts of the towers were again built as solid as possible, as may be seen in the outer ward at Corfe. Finally the introduction of cannon for defensive purposes caused the bases to be pierced again.

But the history of English and Welsh castles since the invention of gunpowder is one of gradual dilapidation and neglect. Even in the days of their prime, they seem to have required constant attention to keep them in proper repair, and the records relating to them that have been preserved are chiefly concerned with the damages inflicted by wind and weather and the sums required for their repair. When a castle lost all importance as a military post, or ceased from any reason to be the residence of its owner, the tokens of the change were not long in making their appearance. Where the roof is not kept sound even the best of houses will go to pieces, and hence most of the towers of our ancient castles are mere shells.

By the end of the fifteenth century a very large number of castles were mere ruins. Others which were still sound enough to be garrisoned in the seventeenth were "slighted" by the Parliament. Three of the five castles still inhabited which are included in this volume were snatched from decay in comparatively modern times. The majority, in various stages of dilapidation, remained a prey to the elements and to the ivy, and frequently served as a common quarry to the neighbourhood.

As to their present condition—the twentieth century has not much reason to congratulate itself. It must be gratefully acknowledged that in some instances

every care is taken to hand them down without further damage to future generations, and there are others where destruction has gone so far that nothing but a few fragments are left to preserve ; but after all deductions it cannot be denied that much that might be done to arrest the progress of decay is not done, and the fact that the private owner is so often either unwilling or unable to incur the necessary expense, seems to be the strongest argument for the acquisition of these historic monuments by the State. A neighbouring country has shown that this is the surest means for their preservation, and the acceptance of the general principle does not necessarily include the endorsement of the methods employed to carry it out. But without going so far afield, we have nearer home in Tintern Abbey a palmary example of what State ownership can do.

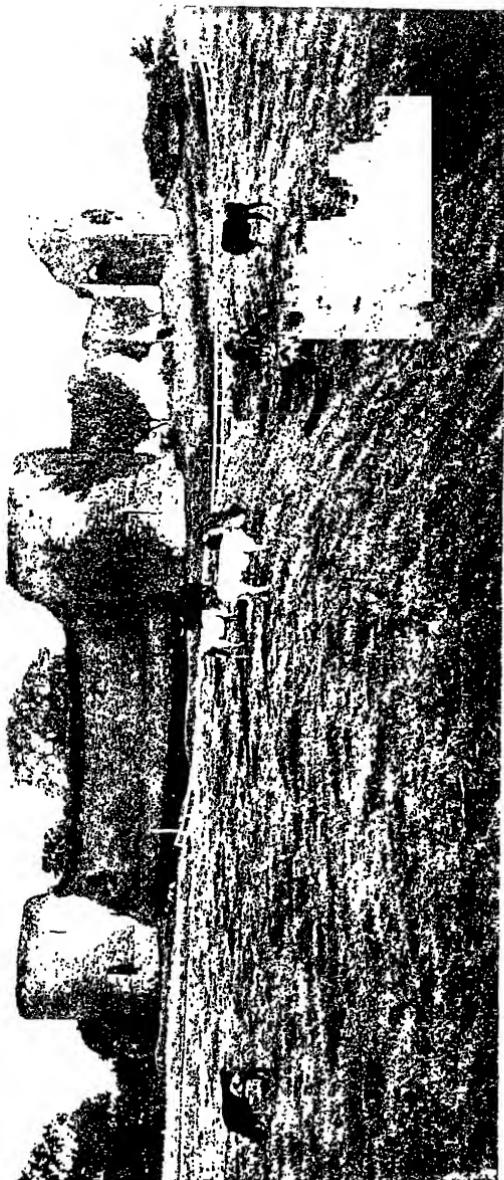
It was not till the latter half of the eighteenth century that any serious interest seems to have been aroused in the study of our mediæval castles. Francis Grose (1731-1791) and Edward King (1735-1807) were the pioneers. The *Antiquities* (1773-1787) of the former, who was an adjutant of militia, are well known ; the latter, a barrister, is best known by his *Munimenta Antiqua* (1799-1805). In the nineteenth century the subject was taken up by numerous enthusiastic students, and with the rise of the various local antiquarian societies became almost popular. Charles Henry Hartshorne (1802-1865) made some of the most valuable of the earlier contributions to the study, but the greatest name is that of George Thomas Clark (1809-1898), known familiarly by the honourable sobriquet of "Castle Clark." The collection of his scattered papers entitled *Mediæval Military Archi-*

ecture in England (1884) must long remain the chief text-book on the subject.¹

¹ On the Norman origin of the mound-and-bailey castle the reader may consult Dr. J. H. Round, "Castles of the Conquest," *Archæologia*, vol. lviii. ; Mr. St. John Hope, "English Fortresses and Castles of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. lx. ; Mrs. Armitage, *Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxxv., and her paper in the *English Historical Review*, 1904, since incorporated in *Early Norman Castles*, 1912 ; Mr. George Neilson, "The Motes in Norman Scotland," *Scottish Review*, 1898 ; and Mr. G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, 2 vols. 1911. The other side of the question is supported by Mr. T. Davies Pryce, "Earthworks of the Moated Mound Type," *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for 1905.

CHAPTER II PEVENSEY

LIKE Portchester, Pevensey is a Roman enclosure with a feudal castle in one corner. The size of the area enclosed is about the same, nearly nine acres ; but here it is oblong with rounded angles instead of being square and rectangular, the walls following the outline of the natural knoll on which they were built, and the later castle is placed in the south-east instead of the north-west corner. The Roman settlement of Anderida lay within the walls, and the later village of Pevensey lies outside them on the east. The Roman settlement dates from the third century ; and when its buildings were swept away by the Saxon invaders of the fifth, the area within the walls lay vacant for nearly six hundred years, and was then at last turned to advantage as the site of a Norman castle. The Norman founder was Robert of Mortain, who, having received a grant of the site from his half-brother the Conqueror, proceeded to raise his fortified mound at the east side of the enclosure, the Roman walls forming his outer line of defence. About two hundred years later a second line was built, thus forming a small inner ward, the eastern side of which coincided with the original *enceinte*, and the Norman keep now



PEVENSEY FROM THE NORTH-WEST

remained the strongest tower of a thirteenth-century castle.

The low knoll on which the Roman settlement was built was washed on its eastern and southern sides by the sea, now more than a mile distant. The other sides were defended by a marshy tract, liable to be flooded by the sea at high tides, so that the knoll would then become a veritable island.

The present dilapidated condition of the masonry, both Roman and mediæval, is partly due to the fact that down to about the year 1830 the place was used as a quarry by the surrounding inhabitants. It is thus that the Roman walls have lost so much of their ashlar facing. Inside, where the level of ground is higher, and the foundation of the wall some 10 feet below the surface, the whole of the facing stones have been stripped off, showing that the core (over 12 feet thick) consists of flints, pebbles, and other rough stones, welded together by strong mortar into a solid mass. Outside, the upper part of the wall is higher and more difficult to get at; and the stripping has been confined to the lower courses, which have now been repaired with brick.

Rounded bastions or towers project from the wall on the outside, originally seventeen in all. They are solid, and are more frequent on the north and west sides, which were more exposed to attack. Between two of these towers near the south-west corner is the main entrance, originally defended by two gates—an outer one in a line with the walls, and an inner and narrower one 18 feet further in, and connected with the other by a passage between side walls now destroyed. The eastern entrance, which leads to the village, occupies its old position; but the archway is

of modern brick, and the Roman sill is 5 feet below the present level. Besides these two entrances there were a north and a south postern, the former remarkable for a curved entrance passage, the outer exit being to the east of the inner one—an arrangement said to be unique in this country; the latter, which is included within the feudal castle, a water-gate.

When the Normans landed in 1066 they must have found the Roman fortifications in a better state than they now are, and, as has already been said, they were not slow to take advantage of them. The mound of debris at the east end is backed by the Roman wall, and its summit is now strewn with blocks of masonry in hopeless confusion. Recent excavations have, however, thrown some light on the character of the Norman keep which once stood here. The foundations of a rectangular tower were discovered, the masonry of which, from its rude workmanship, denoted a very early Norman origin. "The walls," writes Mr. Harold Sands,¹ "are 13 feet in thickness, and the size 81 by 60 feet. A Roman tower has been incorporated with the south-west angle, and at the others were three huge semicircular bastions, solid below, with cells in the thickness of wall, and on the south face a large rectangular projection, probably the forebuilding." This was no doubt the "great tower" mentioned in the details of repairs preserved in the Exchequer Accounts.² In 1154 there is a mention of palisades to strengthen

¹ *Memorials of Old Sussex*, 1909, p. 201 note. The foundations of another of these great keeps have recently been unearthed at Old Sarum.

² Translated by Mr. F. L. Salzmann, and printed by him in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xlix. The whole contains a mass of interesting details relating to the structural upkeep of a feudal castle.

the ramparts—probably a stockade surrounding the tower. In 1313, more than half a century after presumed date of the inner curtain wall, the great tower is approached by a bridge across the inner ditch, part of which can still be traced, and by steps. This “bridge before the door of the keep” and “a great stairway” there are mentioned again in 1366–1369. At the same date the keep had “a wing” of some sort (the forebuilding ?); and in 1405 a great part of the tower was falling down, and £20 was spent on its repair. This is all that can be said of the keep.

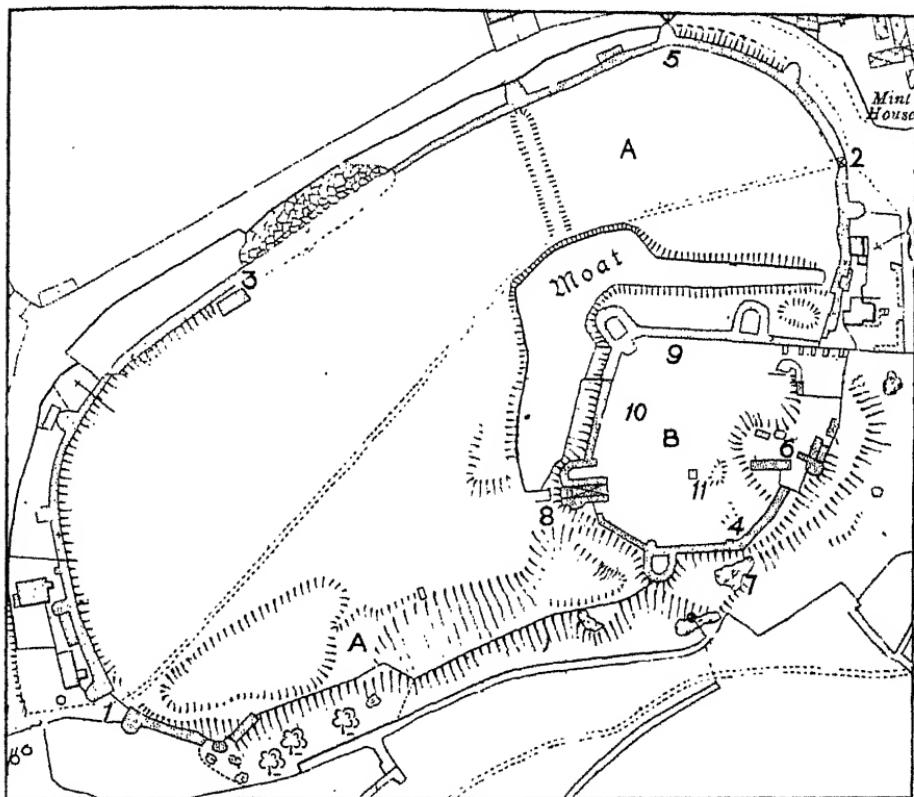
For the rest, the Normans seem to have fortified the Roman wall with a parapet, and to have raised one of the northern bastions, marked 5 in the plan, to a height of 50 feet, in order to form a watch-tower from which the surrounding country might be commanded.

The complete circuit of the Roman walls is broken by two gaps—one of 65 yards on the north, and one of about 200 yards on the south; the latter is partly due to a landslip, which has carried forward the bastion marked 7, and left it in a leaning position, and partly also to the siege of 1265 by the younger Simon de Montfort.

The thirteenth-century castle, the best view of which is to be obtained from the north and west, is surrounded on these sides by a moat still containing water. The curtain is tolerably perfect, and contains a gatehouse and three fine projecting towers. The part of the moat south of the gatehouse seems to have been rendered useless by the landslip. To the north an arm of the moat, now dry, extended in the direction of the watch-tower, and protected the north-eastern part of the Roman enclosure.

The gatehouse is opposite to the Roman entrance, and consisted of two rounded towers with the passage between them closed by an outer and inner gate—the former strengthened by a portcullis. The southernmost of these towers is broken down, but the ruined shell of the northern one is still standing. The moat was here crossed by a drawbridge approached from without between curved walls, and resting on two piers which may still be seen, but stripped of their facings. The entrance passage was vaulted and had arcaded side walls, but it is now inaccessible.

All the towers, including those of the gatehouse, consisted of a basement and two upper floors. The surface of the ground inside the ward being higher than it is outside, the basement stories have the appearance of being underground. The tower at the north-western angle, and the one to the east of it, correspond in their arrangements. In both a straight flight of steps descends from the ward to the basement, and the floor above, which is on a level with the ward, has a separate entrance. At the foot of the basement stairs a passage leads to a postern, in the western tower on the left, and on the right in the eastern tower, while from the entrance into the upper floor a side door, in one case on the right, and in the other on the left, opens into an oblong mural chamber, which Clark, who noticed certain corbels and blocked-up doorways, thought gave access to garderobes bracketed out over the moat. The uppermost floor was entered from the battlements. The southern tower is of much the same construction as the other two, but the north-west tower was distinguished from the others by having its basement vaulted and arcaded.



PEVENSEY

A.—OUTER WARD	6.—KEEP
B.—INNER WARD	7.—LEANING BASTION
1.—WESTERN GATEWAY	8.—GATEHOUSE
2.—EASTERN ENTRANCE	9.—HALL
3.—NORTH POSTERN	10.—CHAPEL
4.—SOUTH POSTERN	11.—WELL
5.—WATCH-TOWER	

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the
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The site of the chapel may be traced in the grass just to the south of the tower last mentioned. It is conjectured to have been of transition Norman character, and a part of the font is still left ; in 1852, a piscina for a pillar base was also discovered. The well is near the base of the Norman mound, and the water-gate already mentioned, which is guarded outside by the fallen Roman bastion, is just to the south of the well.

As to other buildings in the inner ward, we hear of a hall¹ and its annexed chambers roofed sometimes with tiles, sometimes with thatch, and with plastered walls ; also of gutters between the hall and the castle wall—probably the north wall, where a fireplace, presumably that of the hall, may be seen.

It is owing to the fact that Pevensey was a royal castle that these details have been preserved, and like other royal castles it was ordinarily governed by a constable appointed by the King. Down to the accession of the House of Lancaster in 1399, there were, however, several grantees who held the castle and manor on the same terms as any other tenants-in-chief.

It was at Pevensey that William the Conqueror effected his landing on September 28, 1066, and we have seen that he bestowed the place on his half-brother Robert of Mortain. It was forfeited by Robert's son William, who took the side of Robert of Normandy against Henry I, and was granted by that sovereign to the house of Laigle (de Aquila), who held it with intervals of royal possession for 130 years. In 1246 Henry III gave it to one of his wife's uncles, Peter of Savoy, who still held it at

¹ Salzmann, u.s.

the time of the battle of Lewes, in 1264. After this it was for a time part of the dower of the queen's consort: in 1318 we hear of Queen (Dowager) Margaret's, and in 1360 of Queen Philippa's, Honour of Pevensey. The latter died in 1369, and three years later Edward III bestowed it on his favourite son John of Gaunt, and from this time forward it continued to be a possession of the Duchy of Lancaster.

When its south and east sides were defended by the sea the castle seems to have been impregnable. It sustained three sieges. The last was raised after eight months, and in the first two the place was only reduced by famine. The first occasion was when it was attacked by William II as a preparatory step to his siege of Rochester in 1088. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, had quitted Rochester and joined his brother of Mortain at Pevensey. The Red King well knew that he would only be wasting time at Rochester until his uncle was subdued, and for six weeks he assailed the Roman walls and Norman palisades with such artillery as he could muster. The rebels were ostensibly in arms for the King's elder brother, Robert of Normandy, and were in hopes that he would come to their assistance. All he did, however, was to send some ships which attempted to effect a landing, but William and his English soon drove the Normans back into the sea, and the castle was starved into a surrender. What terms were granted to the Earl of Mortain we do not know, but Odo was made to swear that he would leave England, and would cause the castle of Rochester to be surrendered. How he fared in this we shall see in a later chapter.

In 1147 the castle was held for the Empress Matilda against King Stephen. Like his predecessor, the King bombarded it in vain, but on his departure he left a force to blockade it by sea and land, and hunger compelled its surrender.

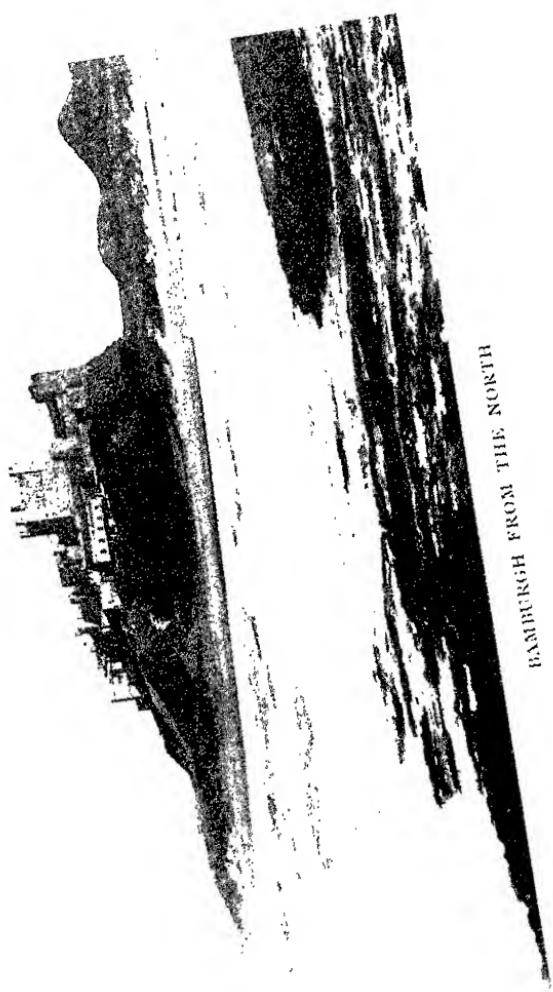
The last siege took place after the battle of Lewes in 1264. In spite of the victory of the barons, the royalists refused to give up the castle, and the younger Simon de Montfort sat down before it for some eight months; it was on this occasion that he made the breach in the Roman walls already noticed. This time the defenders had an advantage which had been denied to their predecessors, for they were able to get reinforcements and supplies into the castle by sea. It was therefore impossible to starve them into surrender, and in July 1265 Simon abandoned the attempt and marched off to Kenilworth.

The only other recorded attempt on the castle was in 1399, when it was successfully defended by the wife of Sir John Pelham, a staunch supporter of Bolingbroke, against a local force raised in the royal interest. Under the Lancastrian rule the place was used as a state prison, and Edward, Duke of York, who fell at Agincourt, James I of Scotland, and the Queen Dowager, Joan of Navarre, are the most illustrious persons recorded to have been confined here. The last had been most unjustly accused of plotting the death of her stepson Henry V.

During the long reign of Henry VI and his successors, the castle appears to have been kept in repair, but with the accession of that thrifty monarch Henry VII, it was allowed to fall into decay, and by the time of Elizabeth it was already used as a quarry for building the houses of the neighbouring gentry. One

John Thatcher, Esq., is particularly mentioned¹ as purchasing six hundred loads of stone for his house at Priesthawes, not far away, at twopence a load. An attempt on the part of the Government under the Commonwealth to dispose of what materials remained fortunately proved a failure.

¹ Salzmann, u.s.



RAMSGATE FROM THE NORTH



CHAPTER III

B A M B U R G H

RIGHT opposite to the Farne Islands the isolated rock of Bamburgh rises from the Northumbrian coast, a gaunt and mysterious pile as it looms in the mist before the traveller, whether by sea or land, and a spot which with York and Durham may share the distinction of being the three most notable sites in the history of the English land north of the Humber. Even before the English conquest a natural fortress of such exceptional strength was not likely to be left unoccupied by the earlier inhabitants, and in the dim dawn of history it is already visible as the Celtic stronghold of Dinguardi. In the middle of the sixth century Ida is recorded¹ to have made it the capital of his newly founded kingdom, and from Bebba, the second wife of his grandson Æthelfrith, it received the name it has ever since borne —Bebbanburgh or Bamburgh. The kingdom of Northumberland thus founded lasted for four centuries, but its limits were not always the same. East of the Pennine Chain—for west of it the Celts long continued to maintain their independence—it stretched at its widest extent from the Humber to the Forth; sometimes it reached no farther north than the Tweed,

¹ The passage in the Chronicle is the interpolation of a twelfth-century scribe, but the statement is supported by Nennius. Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, p. II.

and sometimes the northern and southern portions, under the names of Bernicia and Deira, became two independent kingdoms. Bamburgh remained the capital of the northern, if not of the united kingdoms, down to 756 ; at which date, after a crushing defeat by the Celts, it was removed southwards to the old Roman city of Corbridge on the Tyne. Here it remained till the middle of the tenth century, by which time the supremacy of the royal house of Wessex over the other English kingdoms being acknowledged, Northumberland as a separate kingdom was finally extinguished, and its place taken by an earldom dependent upon the English king. Bamburgh now regained its prestige, and became the chief seat of the earldom of Northumberland.

The earldom, abolished by Rufus in 1095 on the rebellion of the last earl, Robert Mowbray, was revived in favour of the Scottish king from 1139 to 1157, but with this exception Bamburgh remained an appanage of the English Crown down to 1610, when it was granted by James I to Claudius Forster, a member of a well-known Northumbrian family. We shall see that about the same time the same generous monarch bestowed a neighbouring ruin upon Sir William Grey of Wark. In 1704 the estates of the Forsters were sold, and Bamburgh was purchased by Nathaniel, third Lord Crewe and Bishop of Durham, who had married one of the co-heiresses—the Dorothy Forster of Sir Walter Besant's story. At his death in 1720 the castle passed into the hands of trustees, who in 1757 set to work at its restoration and finally left it in the condition in which it remained till the end of the last century. Then, in 1894, it was sold to the late Lord Armstrong, whose great-nephew, also

created Lord Armstrong, is the present possessor. Some years before his death in 1900 Lord Armstrong had initiated the work of preservation and reconstruction, involving the clearing away of many of the worst eighteenth-century features, and its completion has left the castle as we see it to-day.

The rock of Bamburgh, to be exact, lies north-west and south-east, with its north-eastern side towards the sea and its south-western side towards the village ; but it will be convenient to speak of these simply as northern and southern sides. The north-western extremity of the rock is its lowest point ; here it is 100 feet, but it rises to 150 feet at its opposite or south-eastern extremity. Its length is about a quarter of a mile, and its whole surface is covered by the three wards of the castle—the west or lower ward, the east or middle ward, and, farther east again, the inner ward—an area comprising something less than five acres. The sea is said to have once washed the base of the rock, but an accumulation of low sand-hills now keeps back the tide.

By Ida the rock was no doubt fortified by a palisade, enclosing habitations of wood, the royal quarters being at the higher end, and the rest covered with the buildings of the ancient city. How soon these wooden structures began to give place to stone, or when the populace migrated to the site of the present village without the walls, is unknown. Nor have we any materials for forming a picture of the place as it was when sacked by the Danes in 993, or when besieged by Rufus in 1095. What we do know is that in the eighth century there was an “ecclesia praepulchre facta” either of stone or wood on the top of the rock, probably on the spot after-

wards occupied by the twelfth-century chapel, and that the great square keep was not built till 1163-1164, after Henry II had recovered possession of the castle from the Scots, and ten years before the great keep of Newcastle. This church is mentioned in an early document preserved in the twelfth-century Chronicle of Simeon of Durham¹: "Bamburgh is a strongly fortified city, not very large, but two or three fields in extent, having one entrance hollowed out of the rock and wonderfully raised with steps. On the top of the rock it has a beautifully built church in which is a splendid and costly shrine. In this wrapt in a pall is the right hand of Saint Oswald the king incorrupt, as Beda the historian of this people relates. On the west and on the highest point of the city is a well of water excavated with marvellous toil, sweet to drink, and most pure to see." The story told by Bede is that King Oswald and Aidan, Bishop of Lindisfarne, had just sat down to dinner one Easter day, when the King's almoner announced that the streets were full of starving beggars; the King at once ordered that the untasted meat should be distributed among them, and that the silver dish upon which it had been served should be broken up for their benefit. The bishop then seized the King's right hand and blessed it, saying: "May this hand never decay." The "well" is, of course, the one now inside the keep, and the "entrance" was one scooped out of the rock at the western extremity, and then the only one. The present steps ascending to a postern near the bell or clock tower are modern.

¹ Quoted by Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates in *Border Holds*, p. 228. This book contains the best accounts of the castles of Bamburgh, Warkworth, and Dunstanburgh that we have. Mr. Bates afterwards revised them for the great *History of Northumberland* now in course of publication.

We may now take a survey of the exterior of the castle, premising that the walls are in some places ancient, in others modern, though generally built upon the old foundations. We shall begin at the south-west corner on the land side, where there is an out-work near the original entrance containing a well known as Edmund's well, and not to be confused with the one in the keep already mentioned. From this point the south curtain of the west ward, terminating in the clock tower, is mostly modern, though the older part contains a bastion, or the base of one, near the western end. From the clock tower past the keep to another small bastion the work is again modern, but from this right round to the great gatehouse at the eastern end of the castle the main body of the masonry is ancient. It includes a round tower of about the same size as the clock tower, the grand façade of the King's Hall, a small square tower, the larger square Muniment tower, and the round Davye tower. The greater part of the north curtain facing the sea has been rebuilt from the foundations, and its line is seldom broken by projecting towers.

The principal entrance to the castle is now by the Great Gatehouse, which has been much modernized. Formerly there was a barbican in front of it which contained the drawbridge, and according to a sixteenth-century plan¹ the face of the entrance towers was flat and not rounded as at present. To the left after passing through the gatehouse are steps leading to the curtain of the inner ward, and in the wall below them there was in Elizabeth's time a breach which then, and down to comparatively recent times, formed the only means of entering the castle. Passing through

¹ Reproduced in *Border Holds*.

the gatehouse we have the cliff surmounted by the inner ward to our left and the curtain to our right. A second gate under the Vale Tipping tower is then reached, with a porter's lodge on the seaward side. The road continues, beneath two projecting turrets in the north wall of the inner ward, as far as the spot once occupied by the Tower Gate. This formed the entrance to this ward, and connected the keep with the end of the curtain. We are now in the middle ward, which is separated from the west ward by a curtain extending from the clock tower to the north front of the castle. On this curtain is a tower projecting westwards, which has now been fitted up for the reception of the Crewe Library. The west ward is entered at its northern end by the Smith Gate, which possibly takes its name from a family of Smiths who held half a carucate of land in Bamburgh on the tenure of making the ironwork for the castle carts.

The domestic buildings of the castle are ranged round the south side of the inner ward: they include the Captain's Hall, the King's Hall, a magnificent apartment about 70 feet by 30 feet, the buttery, pantry, larders, and great kitchen. Beyond these the range is continued as far as the steps leading down to the Great Gatehouse. All these buildings have now been restored, and the objectionable eighteenth-century work removed. The foundations of the twelfth-century Chapel of St. Oswald, a long narrow nave with apsidal chancel, are to be seen close to the eastern end of the north curtain, and are carefully preserved.

The great square keep, built, as already stated, in 1163-1164, stands at the east end of the middle ward. It is about 69 feet north and south by 61 feet east and west and 55 feet high. In some instances,

as at London, the keep was built first and the rest of the castle gradually grew up round it; here and at Newcastle the keep was built in an enclosure already fortified, and was intended as a second fortress which could be held after the rest of the defences had been captured. Unfortunately, when the eighteenth-century repairs were being executed, Archdeacon Sharp, one of the Crewe trustees, took it into his head to convert the keep into a residence for himself, with the result that its historic interest was considerably impaired. Modern fittings and partitions were introduced, and the ancient loops were enlarged into unsightly modern windows. It is much to be wished that its restoration to its original condition should be undertaken.

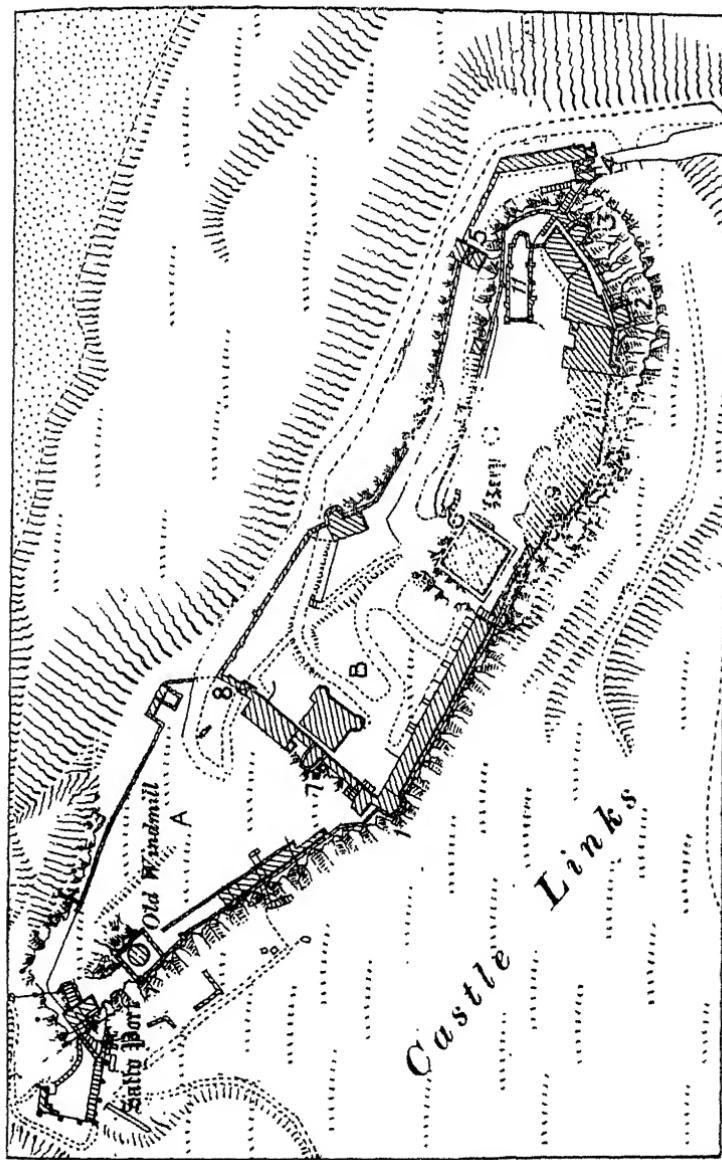
Like other Norman keeps described in this volume, it was divided internally by a cross-wall which in this case ran north and south, as at Portchester and elsewhere. The third floor was a later addition to the original structure. Thus it now consists of a basement and three upper storeys. As at Richmond, the angles are covered with pilasters which rise above the parapet to form the outer walls of the square corner turrets. The north and south walls have one pilaster near their centres, the east and west walls two. The entrance is on the ground level at the north end of the east wall, and immediately on entering a mural stair leads up to the first floor. The basement on the east side of the cross-wall consists of a vaulted room, supported by plain square pillars, with the famous well mentioned by the ancient chronicler in its south-west corner. The existence of this well, which is 150 feet deep, had been forgotten long before its re-discovery in 1770. West of the cross-wall are two

vaulted chambers, and a vice in the north-west corner leads right up to the battlements.

The first floor probably had four rooms, two on either side of the cross-wall. In the one to the north-east Francis Grose, writing about 1770, noticed that some stones in the floor had been reddened by fire, showing that the grate had stood here in the middle of the room. The smoke, he conjectured, escaped by a window (now much enlarged) high up in the north wall. The south-east room apparently had a door communicating with some buildings which as late as the sixteenth century stood between the keep and the south curtain.

The second and third floors had also four rooms, and the latter has a mural gallery running round its north, west, and south sides, lighted by external loops. Before the insertion of the third floor, this must have served as a kind of triforium to the second floor, an arrangement which obtained also at Rochester and Castle Rising. In the south-west corner of this gallery a vice leads into the turret above.

The seventh century was the epoch of the greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom, and the most famous of the kings who reigned at Bamburgh were *Æthelfrith*, the husband of Bebba, whose victory at Chester (613) drove the Strathclyde Welsh to the north of the Ribble and divided them from the Welsh of what we now call Wales; *Edwin*, the first to be converted to Christianity (627); *Oswald*, the patron of St. Aidan, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and himself a saint; *Oswi*, the conqueror of the heathen *Penda* of Mercia, and the contemporary of St. *Cuthbert*, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and of St. *Wilfrid*, Bishop of York; and *Edbert*, who, after capturing Dumbarton from the Welsh (756),



BAMBURGH

- A.—WEST WARD
- B.—MIDDLE WARD
- C.—INNER WARD
- D.—TOWER GATE
- E.—CREW R. LIBRARY TOWER
- F.—SMITH GATE
- G.—CAPTAIN'S HALL
- H.—DAVVE TOWER
- I.—KING'S HALL
- J.—GREAT GATHOUSE
- K.—ST. OSWALD'S CHAPEL.
- L.—
- M.—
- N.—
- O.—
- P.—
- Q.—
- R.—
- S.—
- T.—
- U.—
- V.—
- W.—
- X.—
- Y.—
- Z.—

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experienced a crushing defeat at their hands, and whose successor transferred the capital from Bamburgh to Corbridge.

It was this Edbert who perhaps carried off the head of St. Oswald from the basilica of St. Peter at Lindisfarne, when he besieged a rebellious bishop there in 750. At any rate, a story of its recovery about twenty years later is preserved by Simeon of Durham, and is thus told by Mr. Bates:¹ "An old man, praying before the shrine of St. Cuthbert on Lindisfarne, imagined he received that saint's commission to bring back there this head, which had been removed to Bamburgh, probably by Edbert. He proceeded to the basilica on the castle-rock on St. Oswald's Day, and found the head of the royal martyr exposed above the altar for the veneration of the faithful. The concourse of pilgrims obliged him to delay the execution of his plans till the following morning, when he lingered behind after Mass till every one had left the church except the porter of the monastery.² Seeing that this official kept a very strict watch on his movements, he dropped his belt and gloves near the altar and then went off to mount the horse his servant had waiting for him near the cemetery, possibly the cemetery among the sand-hills just east of the castle. Despatching his servant on an errand, he turned to the porter, whose curiosity had brought him out so far, saying, 'Just take hold of the horse, my good fellow, and let me get my belt and gloves which I left in the church.' Before the porter could say nay, he was off to the

¹ *History of Northumberland*, pp. 79-80; see also *Border Holds*, pp. 226-227.

² *Monasterii illius aeditus* in the original, but the word *monasterium* must be loosely used:

altar, hid St. Oswald's head under his arm, and with the belt and gloves displayed ostentatiously to allay suspicion, rode safely off with his sacred booty to Lindisfarne. He had the satisfaction afterwards to learn that the porter carefully locked up the church without ever looking inside again." Another theft of Bamburgh relics took place in the middle of the eleventh century, when one Winegot, a monk of Peterborough, carried off the right arm of St. Oswald to his own church.

Though ravaged by the Danes in 993, Bamburgh seems to have escaped destruction, and when the North was harried by the Conqueror in 1069 it was one of the three inhabited towns that survived, the other two being York and Durham. In 1095 it sustained the first of the sieges of which any details have been preserved. Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, had refused obedience to a summons from Rufus to appear before him, and had shut himself up in Bamburgh with his countess and his nephew, Morel the sheriff, who had slain Malcolm Canmore at Alnwick two years previously. William marched north, and being unable to carry the castle by storm, built a fortified post, on which he bestowed the nickname of *Malvoisin*, over against it, for the purpose of harassing the defenders. He compelled the captains of his host to help in the work, and some of them having sworn to support Mowbray in his resistance, the latter called to them by name from the walls, and remonstrated with them for their want of faith. Still, however, no impression was made on the castle, and Rufus, leaving it to be watched by its "bad neighbour," returned to the south. Before the end of the year Mowbray, who had been induced to leave Bamburgh

and repair to Newcastle in the hope of getting that fortress into his hands, was taken prisoner. William then returned to Bamburgh, which since her husband's departure had been stoutly defended by the countess and Morel, and bringing Mowbray beneath the walls threatened to put out both his eyes if the place was not surrendered immediately. This had its effect; Mowbray was imprisoned for life, and his earldom suppressed.

In 1333, before the battle of Halidon Hill, when Edward III laid siege to Berwick, the Scots attacked Bamburgh, where Queen Philippa then was, but were repulsed, and thirteen years later, after his defeat at Neville's Cross, David Bruce (David II) was brought here as a prisoner.

It has been already noticed that when the wars of York and Lancaster broke out Northumberland, under the influence of the Percies, espoused the cause of the red rose, but it was not till after the great Yorkist victory of Towton (March 29, 1461) that the stress of war began to be felt north of the Tees and Tyne. Henry and his Queen fled from the field and took refuge in Scotland, and by the end of the year most of the Northumberland castles, including Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh, had submitted to Edward IV. In April 1462 Queen Margaret sailed from Kirkcudbright to France, where she spent the summer in endeavouring to obtain assistance from Louis XI. At last, towards the end of October, she arrived on the coast near Bamburgh, accompanied by Pierre de Brezé, Seigneur of Varennes, and a small contingent of eight hundred men. The castle now opened its gates to her, and its example was soon followed by Dunstanburgh, which had been entrusted by Edward to Sir

Ralph Percy, brother of the third earl, who had fallen at Towton. Alnwick, from want of provisions, was also obliged to yield.

The great Earl of Warwick now came down to the north and established himself at Warkworth, whence he rode out every day to superintend the sieges of the three castles of Alnwick, Dunstanburgh, and Bamburgh. The last was so closely pressed that Margaret thought it best to take advantage of the arrival of a French fleet, with arms and supplies on board, to escape. She reached Lindisfarne, but the vessel in which she had embarked foundered with all her treasure, and she was glad to get safe to Berwick in a fishing boat. Meantime some of the other ships had gone ashore, and four hundred of the French soldiers on board, being unable to force their way through the blockade into Bamburgh, occupied Lindisfarne, where half their number were slain or taken prisoners by Warwick. Bamburgh capitulated on Christmas Eve and Dunstanburgh three days later. Alnwick managed to hold out till the end of January.

In the spring of 1463, with the connivance of Sir Ralph Percy, who, strange to say, in spite of his previous desertion of their cause, had been entrusted by the Yorkists with the custody of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh, both castles were once more seized for King Henry by the French and Scots, though about the same time Margaret was defeated on the Devilswater, south of Hexham, owing to the desertion of her Scottish allies. This Yorkist success was, however, balanced by the loss of Alnwick, which was delivered up by the treachery of its captain, Sir Ralph Grey. Henry and Margaret, together with Brezé and two thousand men, now threw themselves into Bamburgh, while Warwick

and his brother Montagu marched north with their work to do all over again. On their approach Margaret determined to leave her husband within the strong walls of the castle, and to seize the opportunity of putting her son in safety on the Continent ; accordingly she sailed with him to Flanders accompanied by Brezé and the French troops on 30th of July.

Her confidence in the powers of resistance of the rock of Bamburgh did not deceive her, for Warwick did not find himself in a position to press the siege, and retired to the south, leaving Henry to keep his little Court in the castle for the next nine months.¹

But the respite was not to last long. Yet one more Lancastrian rising was to break out before the war was over as far as Northumberland was concerned. Henry, Duke of Somerset, who had been in Bamburgh with the Queen, and after her departure had been received into favour with Edward, reappeared in the North as the champion of the red rose early in 1464, and his arrival was the signal for another outbreak. The Scots, who had all along upheld the cause of Henry, now made overtures for peace, and Montagu set out for the Tweed to conduct their commissioners past the Lancastrian fortresses of Norham, Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick to York, where they were to meet King Edward. On April 25th he fell in with Somerset at Hedgeley Moor, and in the battle which ensued Sir Ralph Percy fell, crying, "I have saved the bird in my bosom," meaning his

¹ A picturesque incident is related in connexion with the departure of the Frenchmen : a valiant drummer, attracted by the renown of the great Earl of Warwick, refused to embark with his countrymen and remained labouring and piping on a hill till the earl came up. He was at once taken into his service, in which he remained "fulle good" for many years.

loyalty to the Lancastrian cause, which he had twice broken. A fortnight later Montagu gained a second victory over Somerset near Hexham, almost on the same site as Margaret's defeat of the year before. Somerset was summarily executed, and Henry, who was present on the field, galloped back to Bamburgh, whence, on the fall of Dunstanburgh, he cut his way through the Yorkist levies that were closing round the place and escaped. Sir Ralph Grey, who had fled with him from Hexham, was left in charge of the castle.

Warwick had now come north for the third time, and in June he and Montagu stormed Dunstanburgh. John Gosse, the captain of the castle, who had held the office of carver to the Duke of Somerset, was carried off to King Edward at York and had his head chopped off with a hatchet. Alnwick surrendered on the 23rd, and on the 25th Warwick laid siege to Bamburgh. He had brought a regular siege train with him, but first a summons was sent to Sir Ralph Grey to deliver up the castle. Sir Ralph replied that he had "clearly determined within himself to live or die in the castle." The heralds who had brought the summons then laid all guilt of bloodshed on his head, with the following defiance: "My Lords ensure you upon their honour to sustain the siege before you these seven years or else to win you. If ye deliver not this jewel the which the King our most dread Sovereign Lord hath so greatly in favour, seeing it marcheth so nigh his ancient enemies of Scotland, and specially desireth to have whole, unbroken with ordnance; if ye suffer one great gun to be laid unto the wall and be shot, to prejudice the wall, it shall cost you the chieftain's head; and so proceeding for every gun shot, to the last head of any person within the place."

In spite of this warning, Sir Ralph "put him in devoir to make defence," and the great guns "Newcastle" and "London," the greater and smaller iron guns, and "Dijon," the brass gun, were "laid unto the wall" and "smote through Sir Ralph Grey's chamber [probably in the block to the west of the King's Hall] oftentimes." This was the first time in England that gunpowder had been used against masonry with such effect, and henceforward the doom of the feudal castle was only a question of time. A breach was effected, the Yorkists poured in, and Sir Ralph Grey was taken to the King at Doncaster and executed.

From this time the castle, which had always suffered from the gales on that exposed coast, gradually fell into the ruinous state from which it was rescued by the Crewe trustees. In 1538 the Royal Commissioners reported it as in "great ruin and decay." In 1547 the Protector Somerset on his way to Scotland dined here with Sir John Horsley, the captain of the castle, whose successor, Sir John Forster, was accused of treating Bamburgh in the same fashion as he had treated Warkworth and Alnwick. What with wilful degradations and the effects of the weather, the state of the fabric had become so bad that a survey taken by order of Queen Elizabeth in 1575 declared that the place was "in utter ruin and decay," much of the damage having occurred "of late time." The subsequent fortunes of the castle have been already indicated.

CHAPTER IV

CHEPSTOW

THE long line of Chepstow Castle rises abruptly from the steep limestone cliffs which here form the right bank of the Wye, while on the other side a deep ravine, known as the Castle Ditch, descends from the higher ground to the river and separates the castle from the town. The castle thus occupies a tongue or platform of rock some 250 yards in length, and from 30 to 70 yards in breadth, lying between the river and the ravine. This platform is highest at its western extremity, and slopes gradually downwards so that the eastern end of the castle is 50 or 60 feet lower than the other. On the counterscarp of the ditch is the wall which defends the town on its landward sides and keeps it quite separate from the castle. The most conspicuous features of the castle are the western gatehouse, the keep, and the great round tower at its south-eastern extremity. Beginning at the west there are four wards—the barbican and the upper, middle, and lower wards : at the present day they are usually reckoned from the east, as the first, second, third, and fourth “courts.” A short distance below the castle is the bridge over the Wye ; its site was chosen to suit the convenience of the town which sprang up under the protection of the Norman



CHEPSTOW FROM THE NORTH-EAST



lords. The ancient bridge, by which the Roman road from Caerleon and Caerwent to the Forest of Dean crossed the river, is about half a mile higher up.

The castle of Striguil, as it was called down to the fifteenth century, was founded, so it is recorded in Domesday, by "Wilhelminus Comes," that is William FitzOsbern, one of the companions of the Conqueror, who was created Earl of Hereford, and died in 1071. He also founded the castles of Clifford, Berkeley, and Wigmore, and repaired Osbern Pentecost's castle at Ewias. Of the castle thus founded within five years of the Conquest nothing is known. It was no doubt wholly or mainly of timber, and it may have stood on the same ground as the twelfth-century keep which succeeded it. Building in this case on an elevated rock, FitzOsbern had no need to throw up the usual mound of earth, but his bailey perhaps coincided with what is now the upper ward with the cross ditch excavated on its western face.¹

The history of the castle is its gradual extension eastwards. If we make the eastern face of the upper ward the limit of the eleventh-century fortress, the eastern face of the middle ward will be that of the twelfth-century work, and the lower ward and barbican the contribution of the first half of the thirteenth century. The keep and middle ward will then be the work of the Strongbows, father and son, in the reign of Henry II, and the barbican and lower ward the work of the Marshals in the reign of Henry III. Minor alterations and additions may be due to the Bigods,

¹ All this is of course mere conjecture, and it should not be forgotten that, except in the case of royal castles, the conclusions arrived at as to the dates of the various portions must almost always be based mainly on the style of building, the documentary evidence being nil.

in the latter half of the thirteenth century ; while the disfiguring Tudor insertions in the lower ward will be obvious to all.

The visitor who ascends the ravine from the town will have the massive walls of the castle above him on his right, here and there relieved by a projecting tower or bastion, and on reaching the western front will find himself confronted by a rectangular gatehouse of imposing proportions. This was the most exposed front of the castle, being liable to attack from the high ground in the rear, and was therefore guarded with especial care. An outer cross ditch was dug in front of the gatehouse, thus enclosing the barbican between a cross ditch on either side, and a wall was carried across this ditch from the round tower at the south-west angle, abutting upon a wall which here crossed the ravine from the town wall. The gatehouse has a considerable projection from the curtain, and batters conspicuously from the base. In front is a very lofty arch, pointed with a double row of voussoirs, to receive the drawbridge when raised. The inner arch recessed within the outer one is also pointed, and above are the holes in which the chains of the bridge worked. In the sides of the lower archway are grooves for a portcullis, and two chases in the vault for screens. In the soffit of the outer arch are two *meurtrières*. The tower is of two storeys, and in the lower one the portcullis was worked. The upper chamber has three loops towards the field and others at the sides. The battlements, now almost gone, projected on corbels, a feature of many of the church towers in this district. The round tower in the south-west corner of the barbican, through which the allure passes, has its lower part filled with earth, and its gorge built up nearly to the top.

Another drawbridge crossed the inner ditch to the gateway of the upper ward. At the south end of this ditch there is a small postern in the curtain. Inside the gate the wall to the north has been much pulled about, but there has been a mural garderobe in the angle, and the wall above the gate looks as if it might once have supported a staircase. To the south of the gate three sides remain of an oblong building, its south end projecting slightly from the main curtain, which Clark thought might have contained quarters for the garrison ; its upper floor contained a large room, a retainers' hall if he is right, of which four flat-headed windows in round recesses still remain—one south, one north, and two looking into the barbican : close to the south window on the left is a round-headed recess now built up and a small square loop looking east along the outside of the curtain. There are traces of other buildings in this ward to the south of the keep. The edge of the cliff to the north, like that of the middle ward, is crowned by a low wall.

Between the upper and middle wards stands the keep, one of the most remarkable buildings in the whole history of British castles, 100 feet long, and 42 to 40 feet wide, and overtopping all the other parts of the castle. Although some approach in the right direction had been previously made,¹ its true history was first read by Clark,² who was able to give a satisfactory explanation of details which had previously been a puzzle to the antiquary. Briefly, as arranged by the Strongbows, the building contained one huge hall, from which a solar at the western end was after-

¹ J. H. Parker, *Domestic Architecture*, vol. ii. pp. 3093, 10.

² *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. vi. (1881-1882);

wards partitioned off by the Marshals. That a hall of this vast size should ever have been planned is an index of the ambition of a great Norman chieftain, and in particular of the power of the great house to which the Strongbows belonged.

The south side of the keep is part of the general *enceinte*, the north side is separated from the edge of the cliff by a passage or gallery formerly roofed, and having gateways at either end. The western gate was set in a tower now gone, the eastern gate is surmounted by a parapet and alure. On the cliff side is a wall about 20 feet high, pierced by seven apertures which gave light to the passage. Besides the pilasters at the angles of the keep there are four on each of the sides and one at each end : one of those in the south wall had had a window cut in it, now blocked. At the base of the south and west sides can be seen the huge blocks of sandstone, with wide joints, which form the lower courses of masonry. The north and west walls still stand to their full height, and at the north-east corner are the remains of a turret. The upper part of the west, and most of the east wall, is gone.

Entering the building by the door in the east end of the north wall, the visitor will find himself in the basement which occupies the whole area of the building, and above which was the great hall. This was used for stores, and must have had a line of posts down the centre supporting the main beam of the floor above, the holes for the ends of which can be seen in the east and west walls. The ground is on a slope, the upper or western end being about 10 feet higher than the lower. In the north wall are three loops opening into the gallery. The door by which the visitor has entered was probably an after-thought, for the main door is in

the east wall 6 feet above the ground. It is set beneath an arch of two members with a plain tympanum, but as the floor of the hall cuts across this arch, it may have been decided to wall up this doorway, leaving the passage on its other side, which will now be described. Outside at the east end a flight of steps leads to a terrace flanking the wall, and perhaps representing a forebuilding of some kind now gone. Another flight of steps on the right again ascends to a passage terminating in the basement doorway. In the centre of this passage a straight flight of steps ascends southwards in the thickness of the wall to near the angle, when it passes into a vice and soon reaches the door of the hall. This was the great Norman hall of the twelfth century, occupying the whole building from end to end. The fireplace, which served both for warmth and cooking, was in the centre, the smoke finding its way out through a louvre in the roof, an inconvenience for which the size of the room afforded some compensation. Clark thinks that the ceiling was flat beneath a high roof. By way of decoration, and perhaps also for structural purposes, a plain arcade of round-headed arches is carried round the west and south sides and recessed into the wall, but some of them have been blocked up at an early period. In the north wall were five or six Norman windows, one of which, towards the east end, remains, but has been built up outside; another has been converted into a door communicating with the tower at the west end of the cliff passage.

In the thirteenth century it was resolved to divide this huge hall into two unequal parts, leaving the larger or eastern part to serve as the hall, and converting the smaller or western part into a solar or

retiring parlour for the lord and his friends. To effect this a handsome arch, with deep mouldings and enriched with dogtooth ornament,¹ was thrown across the hall. The springings of this arch remain on either side, rising from two tiers of short pillars, with stiff foliaged capitals, the whole resting against a broad flat pilaster moulded at the angles and built against the wall. Opposite this arch another quite plain, the only attempt at decoration being a chamfered edge, was built against the western wall, both arches ranging with an open pointed roof which now took the place of the Norman ceiling. The dividing arch was closed by a partition, probably of timber. The Norman windows also gave place in the hall to three large windows of two lights, each divided by transoms into four. In the head of each window is a quatrefoil, and the heads of the recesses on the inner side are richly moulded and provided with side shafts. The east wall was pierced with two lancets of one light each. In the solar west of the door leading to the tower a large double window was inserted beneath an arch wider than those of the hall windows, with a quatrefoil in the head set in a splayed circle; each of the contained windows was of two lights with a transom. In the west wall near the head of the arch, but out of position, are two splayed circles with small exterior openings like funnels.

The line of windows above the stringcourse has the appearance of being intended to light a second floor above the hall and solar, but any such floor would have cut across the handsome transverse arch and con-

¹ Were there two arches with a central pillar? An opinion has been expressed that the curve of the remaining stones shows that there could not have been a single span. No trace of the base of any such pillar is to be seen.

cealed the fine open roof. But if no second floor, why these windows? There is no question here of a mural gallery such as exists at Rochester, Richmond, and Castle Rising, but another kind of gallery there may have been, and this is what Clark's perspicacity detected. "The fact is," he writes dogmatically, "that there was no floor, but at its supposed level against the east and north walls was a broad timber gallery." The object of this gallery was to give access to the roof and also to the door which we shall see opened on to the roof of the tower at the upper end of the cliff passage. The entrance door to the gallery may be seen in the south-east corner above the hall door—the vice, the wall of which encroaches upon the hall and is supported by a nook arch, having been carried up to reach it. In the east wall one jamb of the most northerly window at the gallery level remains, and in the north wall are four two-light transomed windows, two belonging to the hall and two to the solar. In the western jamb of the window immediately east of the screen is a door opening on to a straight flight of steps in the thickness of the wall leading to the roof, and to support these half of a richly moulded arch has been corbelled out against the face of the wall so as to lie flat upon it. The gallery is carried from the hall into the solar by a doorway in the spandrel of the transverse arch, and between this arch and the large double window is the door already mentioned, leading on to the roof of the tower: it is just above the lower door which gave access to the tower itself.

There are no buildings in the middle ward, but there are three towers in its curtains. One projects from the south curtain, which is here 14 feet thick. It is rather later than the curtain, and like the tower at the

south-west corner of the barbican, its basement is filled up with earth. Its upper part, through which the allure passes, is greatly dilapidated. A window which existed half a century ago commanded a view of a tower of similar construction situated on the top of the hill on the Gloucestershire side of the river. From this watch tower the approach of vessels entering the mouth of the Wye could be signalled. The east curtain of this ward was pierced with loopholes for defence, but it has been much pulled about, and now contains three large round-headed recesses, the purpose of which is not clear. At its southern extremity is a drum tower, formerly entered from the angle, but the entrance is now in the lower ward through an enlarged loop. The gateway is at the north end near the cliff, flanked on the south by a drum tower projecting into the lower ward, and flat-sided towards the middle ward. It had two stories, and its basement was used as a kitchen.

The whole of the north side of the lower ward is taken up with what must once have been a very splendid range of thirteenth-century domestic buildings. They might still have remained tolerably perfect, had the eighteenth century taken any care to preserve them, but here as elsewhere the eighteenth century, or at any rate its first six or seven decades, was a period of devastation for our ancient buildings. The question which seems to have suggested itself to those responsible for the castle at that date seems to have been not how it could best be saved from going to pieces, but how it could best be turned to profit. It was in fact actually handed over to the tender mercies of a general merchant, who employed it as a manufactory for the various objects in which he dealt. For example, in one

part sails were made, another part was a glass factory, and another a blacksmith's shop for the manufacture of nails.¹ And no portion of the castle seems to have suffered more than the range of buildings with which we are now concerned. The central part is fitted up with modern partitions for the residence of the custodian, and the rest has become so ruinous that it is difficult to understand the uses for which its various apartments were intended.

About the centre there is a projection into the ward containing a handsome window of two lights, transomed, and with a quatrefoil in the head. This belongs to a small room vaulted in two bays and, though on what grounds is not apparent, said to be an oratory.² West of this was the hall, which for ordinary use must have taken the place of the great hall in the keep. It is now a cabbage garden, and its walls are nearly gone. It probably had an undercroft, entered perhaps from the ward by the present garden gateway: how the hall itself was entered it is impossible to say. The dais was at the west end, and at the east end were the doors to the pantries and buttery, and between them a flight of steps, still existing, leading down to the great kitchen. This, with its store-rooms and offices, forms the eastern end of the range, and is immediately on the visitor's right as he enters the castle. The kitchen itself must have been a fine room with a lofty roof: one window of the same character as that in the so-called oratory remains looking into the ward. Above the store-

¹ William Beattie, *Castles and Abbeys of England* [1851], 2nd Series, p. 14.

² Clark (*M.M.A.* i. 164) says: "At Chepstow the chapel was on a large scale, and in the outer ward," One would like to have his authority for this statement; excavation might perhaps settle the question.

rooms at its lower end there was a floor containing one or more well-lighted rooms, and above this again the existence of a loop points to a kind of watch-tower or guard-chamber. A row of projecting corbels below the level of the loop must have been intended for a wooden gallery.¹

Between the steps which descend from the hall and the entrance to the kitchen is a cross passage extending to the edge of the cliff. At this end of it are two small courts—one on the right containing garderobes, and one on the left occupying the summit of a projecting rock. On the inner side of this court is a flight of stairs leading down to the vaulted cellar beneath the eastern end of the hall. At its north end is a door opening over the river below, which here forms a small creek, and in the floor is an iron ring to which a rope for hauling up stores from a boat could be secured. It will be noticed that this creek is commanded by the projecting rock just mentioned.

The great gatehouse at the north-eastern corner of this ward contains the principal entrance to the castle. The gate is set between two drum towers of unequal size, the smaller being upon the edge of the cliff. The arch of the gate has another thrown forward above, as at Kidwelly and Carnarvon, leaving a space or chase threatening the heads of an enemy battering at the door. The doors are of oak nailed on to a cross-barred frame, and Clark thought they were of sixteenth-century date. They were defended on either side by a portcullis. The entrance passage, and with

¹ Clark (*Transactions*, p. 70), speaking of this kitchen, says, "its windows open towards the ward, and have been lengthened and otherwise altered, and some corbels projecting from the wall seem to have supported two rows of wooden galleries against the outside of the wall."

it all the inner part of the gatehouse, has gone: its abutment marks will be seen on the south side of the gate inside.

The curtain on the south side of this ward is of extraordinary thickness; it is composed of an outer and inner wall, the space between them being filled up with earth and rubble. The thickness is said to be no less than 18 feet, being twice that of the east curtain between the gatehouse and Marten's tower.

Marten's tower, where Henry Marten the regicide spent the last twenty years of his life, is at the south-east corner. It has a straight front to the ward, but its prolonged sides are rounded towards the field. Outside it is strengthened by two semi-pyramidal buttresses, and its only ornamentation is the string-course, which surrounds it at the rampart level below the battlements. It had an underground basement or cellar with a very low roof, and three large rooms, each the full size of the tower, above it. These are reached by a spacious vice entered on the left of the entrance passage. The ground-floor room was also rather low, and may have been used as a kitchen: it has two fireplaces, and is lighted by three loops towards the field. The door by which the tower is entered from the ward was defended by a portcullis worked from the window recess of the room above. The first and second floors contain large and lofty rooms, each lighted towards the ward by a large square Tudor window, the mullions of the lower being of oak, of the upper, stone. They are set in vaulted recesses under flattish arches, and have taken the place of earlier windows set in pointed recesses. The entrance from the vice on either floor is by a passage opening into the right jamb of the window, and in the

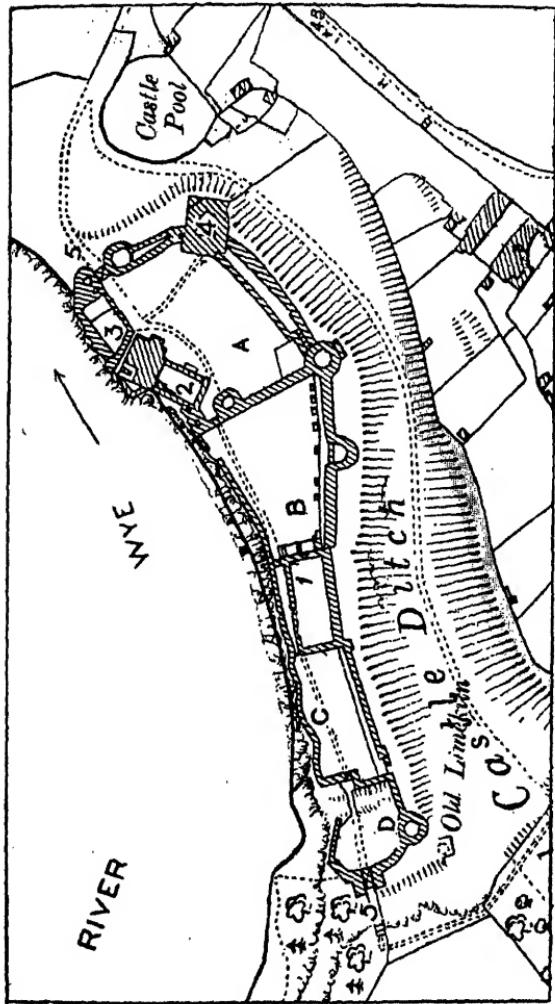
lower floor another passage in the opposite jamb leads to a portcullised door from which a few steps descend upon the allure of the south curtain. The first floor has three, the second two loops or lancets towards the field. The lower floor also has a mural garderobe in its south-west corner. A few steps above the second-floor level a door on the left leads into a small oratory which occupies the top story of a square projection from the tower rising above the rampart of the east curtain. It has a very handsome east, or rather north-east, window, once probably of two lights, the mouldings of the inner hood of which are ornamented with eight petalled flowers very gracefully cut. Beneath this was the altar, and on the right is the piscina. There is a lancet in each side wall and a small fireplace. Below this oratory was another room of the same size entered from the first floor.

Marten's tower was in tolerable repair up to the end of the eighteenth century,¹ when the roof fell in,² and the destruction of the floors of course followed: one of the rooms had previously been used as an assembly room by the townspeople. The ramparts are still accessible, and the merlons, as at Alnwick, are ornamented with stone warriors, though these figures are now very much decayed. As at Pembroke there was a chamber in the centre with a pointed roof, the inner gable of which can be seen from below rising up behind the parapet.

On the left of the entrance to the castle is the abutment of a flanking wall, which seems to have

¹ Mark Willett, *Survey of the History of Monmouthshire* [1813], p. 291.

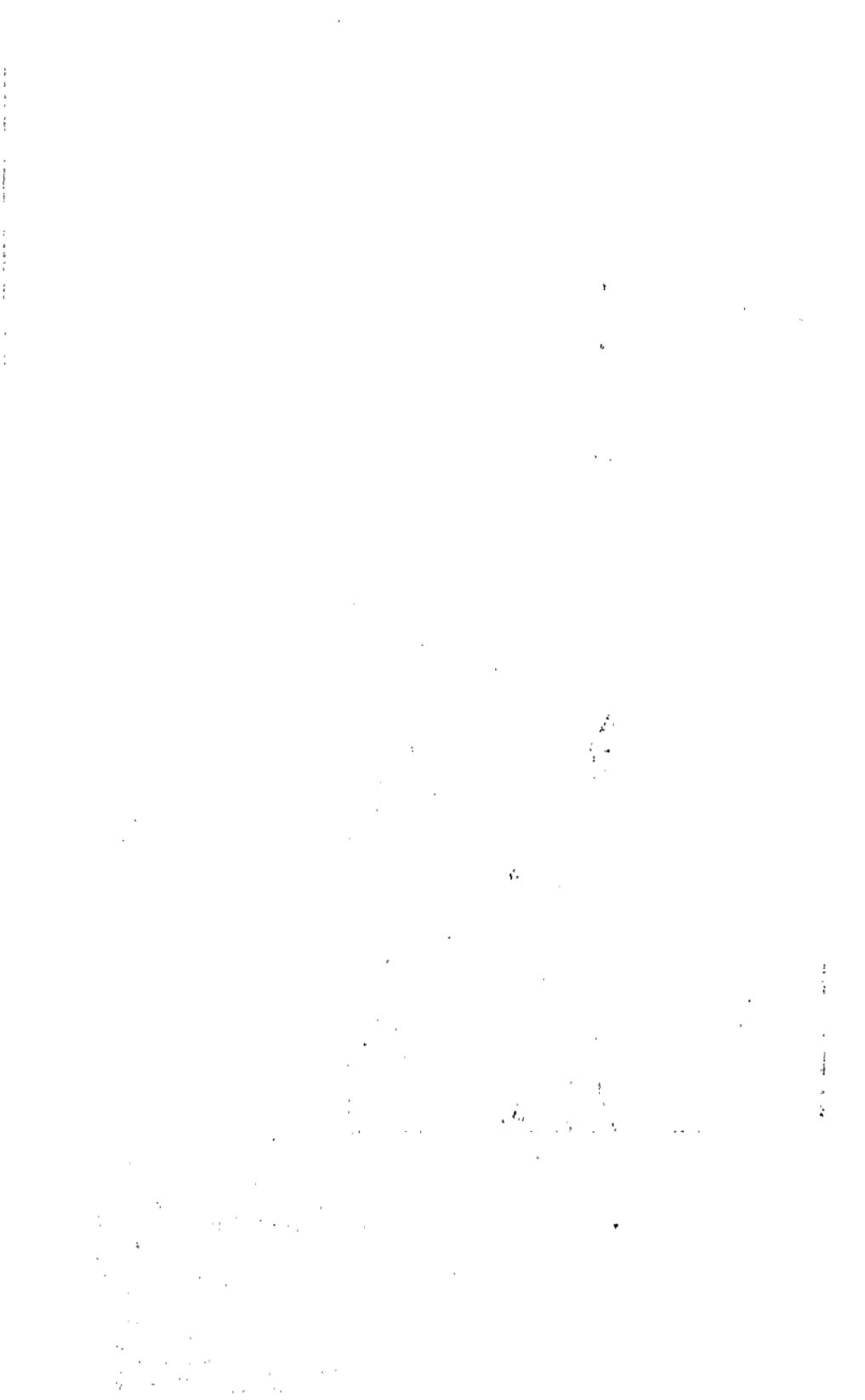
² "Owing to a neglect of the roof, the upper stories of the building were swimming with water, and perishing very fast." J. T. Barber, *Tour throughout South Wales and Monmouthshire*, 1803, p. 251 note.



CHEPSTOW

- A.—LOWER WARD
- B.—MIDDLE WARD
- C.—UPPER WARD
- D.—BARBICAN
- E.—KEEP
- 1.—THIRTEENTH CENTURY HALL
- 2.—THIRTEENTH CENTURY KITCHEN
- 3.—MARTIN'S TOWER
- 4.—DRAWBRIDGES
- 5, 5.—DRAWBRIDGES

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been carried down the slope to the ditch which once crossed the approach, and of which the castle pool may be a survival. This was crossed by a drawbridge, lowered probably from a kind of barbican now vanished, for when the place was captured by the Parliament in 1648, Colonel Ewer, the commanding officer, says in his report to the House: "Being overpersuaded by some gentlemen of the county that were there, presently I dismounted from my horse, and went unto the drawbridge, where he [Sir Nicholas Kemeys] through a porthole spake with me."

Chepstow Castle,¹ commanding as it did the southernmost of the passes into Wales, was always an important military post, and, as we have seen, was built on such a scale as to make it one of the first baronial residences in the Marches. But it was not until its possessors had ceased to make it their home that its defensive powers were put to the test, and that was after siege artillery had been brought to a degree of perfection which its walls were never calculated to withstand.

William FitzOsbern's son and successor, Roger de Breteuil, joined a conspiracy against the King in 1074, and was deprived of his estates. Striguil therefore passed to the Crown, and in or about 1115 was granted by Henry I to Walter FitzRichard, a member of the powerful house of Clare, and some fifteen or sixteen years later the founder of the abbey of Tintern. By a regrant it came to Walter's nephew, Gilbert Strongbow, and then to Gilbert's son, Richard Strongbow, both of them also holders of the earldom and castle of Pembroke. From the Clares Striguil passed by

¹ The name Chepstow first appears early in the fourteenth century, but only as applied to the town. The castle and lordship continued to bear the name of Striguil down to the sixteenth century.

marriage to the Marshals, also Earls of Pembroke, and afterwards to the families of Bigod, Plantagenet, Hastings, Mowbray, and Herbert.

To the Clares and Marshals (1115-1245) the building of the present castle may safely be assigned, though certain alterations may have been made by Roger Bigod, the fifth Earl of Norfolk, who built the present and second church of Tintern Abbey about 1287.

Edward II visited Striguil in October 1325, on his flight westwards from Isabella and Mortimer. The castle was then in the hands of the younger Despencer, to whom it had been granted for life by Thomas de Brotherton, the half-brother of the King.

In 1468 the castle for the first time came into the possession of a Welshman. This was William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the Yorkist general who received the surrender of Harlech. He was the son of Sir William ap Thomas of Raglan, and obtained Striguil by exchange with John Mowbray, the last Duke of Norfolk of that creation. The very next year he was defeated at Danesmoor and executed at Northampton. His body was brought back to Wales and buried at Tintern. With the Herberts Raglan became the principal residence of the lords of Striguil. William Herbert's granddaughter Elizabeth brought the castles of Raglan and Striguil to her husband, Sir Charles Somerset, created Earl of Worcester in 1514; and their descendant, the Duke of Beaufort, is their present owner.

The only military occurrences in which the castle played a part are confined to the Civil Wars and are not considerable. When the war broke out in 1642 it was garrisoned for the King; but in October 1645,

when Bristol had fallen and the Royalist cause had become hopeless, it was surrendered to the governor of Gloucester, Colonel Morgan, himself a Monmouthshire man. In the second Civil War, May 1648, Sir Nicholas Kemeys, one of the Cefn Mabley family, aided by the treachery of a member of the garrison, took the place by surprise. Cromwell himself¹ soon afterwards appeared before it; but being compelled to continue his march upon Pembroke, he left the reduction of the castle to one of his officers, Colonel Ewer. Kemeys and his party held out bravely for a time; but their provisions becoming exhausted, they made arrangements to escape by a boat moored in the little creek below the cellar. The enemy, however, getting wind of this design, one of their men swam across the river with a knife between his teeth, cut the rope, and brought away the boat. By this time Ewer, having procured some siege guns, began to batter the walls, and ere long made a breach in the wall of the lower ward to the west of Marten's tower.² Sir Nicholas Kemeys now proposed that he and his men should march out under arms, but Ewer would grant no other terms than unconditional surrender. These were refused, and the besiegers then poured in through the breach. In the hand-to-hand fighting that followed Kemeys was slain. It does not appear that much damage was done to the fabric of the castle beyond the breach and the destruction of some of the battlements of the

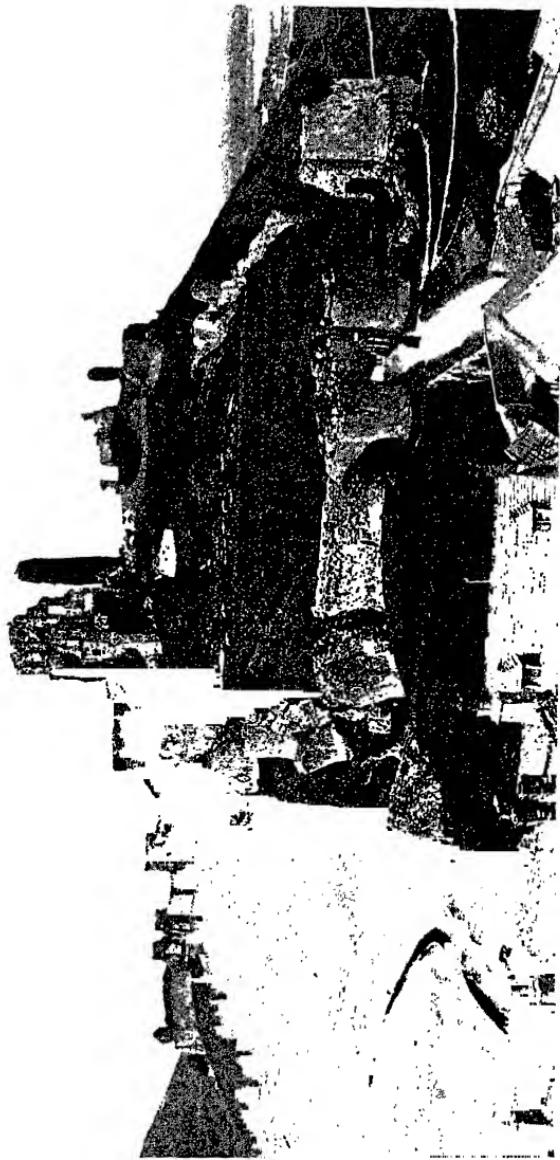
¹ See p. 201 below.

² "In the curtain wall, between Harry Marten's tower and the next above, and still discernible from the difference in the masonry, where the damage had been repaired." J. F. Marsh, *Annals of Chepstow Castle*, 1883, p. 228. A huge mass of masonry in this part of the curtain fell down in 1873, but has been strongly rebuilt. *Ibid.* p. 263.

towers ; but Ewer, who probably thought his troops too few to mount guard over all the castle, locked his prisoners up in the parish church as the safest place.

Chepstow and the other estates of the Somerset family were settled on Cromwell by the Parliament in 1645, but at the Restoration they were restored to the Marquess, and a garrison was kept in the castle till 1690. Besides Henry Marten, who was detained here from 1660 to his death in 1680, Bishop Jeremy Taylor was confined here for two short periods in 1656, on the charge of being concerned in a Royalist conspiracy. Marten's imprisonment was far from rigorous, and his position was practically that of a prisoner on parole. The whole of the great tower which now goes by his name was placed at his disposal, and there he lived the life of a private gentleman, with his family and servants. He was even permitted to pay visits to the neighbourhood, and a story is current in the family of St. Pierre (where a portrait of him still hangs) that his visits to that loyal household were cut short by his sturdy declaration that if he had his time to live over again he would take the same side and act the same part. After this, it is said, he was never asked to the house again.

After all the neglect and ill usage that the castle has received, it is satisfactory to be able to state that it is now well cared for. Much of the ivy has been destroyed, and the trees which once encumbered the scarp of the ravine have been cleared away, so that it is now possible to get an uninterrupted view of the whole of the south side and to appreciate its stern grandeur. It would be well if the proprietors of other tree-blocked ruins would follow this good example.



CORFE FROM THE SOUTH

CHAPTER V

CORFE

THE Isle of Purbeck, as it is called, though really a peninsula, is dominated by a line of chalk hills some 600 to 400 feet high, which runs from west to east through the centre. Half way across the ridge is broken by the valleys of two small streams, which unite on its northern side and find their way in a single channel to Poole Harbour. The fragment of the range between these two valleys thus forms an isolated mass, surrounded on three sides by the streams, and on the fourth or south side defended by an artificial trench cut across its base. A position of this kind seems to be designed by nature for a fortress; but whatever advantage may have been taken of it by the previous inhabitants of the district, we have no traces of fortification earlier than the time of the Normans, who erected one of their great "towers" or square keeps on the summit of the hill.¹ Steep, and on every side but the south almost precipitous, slopes rendered the position secure, while the

¹ The first castle, mentioned in Domesday as "Castellum Warham," but clearly meaning Corfe, for the castle is stated to be in the manor of Kingston, four miles from Wareham, was probably of wood, and was built by Robert of Mortain. On his forfeiture, in 1105, Corfe passed into the hands of the Crown, and Mrs. Armitage thinks the present keep was built by Henry I. *Early Norman Castles*, pp. 135 and 138.

adjoining summits on either side were too distant for the effective employment of the projectiles of those days. On the south side the slope was scarped, and strengthened by a revetment of stone; and at the foot of this escarpment a deep ditch, attributed to King John,¹ was dug right across from one side of the outer enceinte to the other. Below this again the outer ward was afterwards enclosed.

The place was known to the Saxons as Corfe Gate—that is, the gate or opening *carved*² in the hills; and the little town which arose on the south side of the outer trench came to be called “Corfe Castle,” to distinguish it from Corfe Mullen, some dozen miles to the north. Of the near views of the castle the most imposing is that from the town, but the ruined keep crowning the hill, and rising 80 feet above it, is conspicuous at a distance of many miles, reminding the traveller of another scene,

Where the great Vision of the guarded mount
Looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold.

The dilapidated condition of the castle as we see it to-day is the result of deliberate destruction. Throughout its history it was never captured by any open attack, but in the Civil War it succumbed to treachery, and falling into the hands of the Parliament, the most effective measures were taken to prevent its ever being held against them again. The masonry was either blown to pieces with powder, like the rocks in a quarry, or, in primitive fashion, undermined and propped up with timber, which was then

¹ It is, however, probable that it was part of the original defences, and was revetted and perhaps enlarged by John. Mrs. Armitage, p. 137.

² A.-S. *ceorfan*, mod. Germ. *kerben*.

set on fire, allowing the superstructure to fall by its own weight. Thus the greater part of the *enceinte* was reduced to ruins, and the buildings of the interior, including half the keep, scattered here and there in great masses of masonry, some of which have rolled down to the bottom of the hill, and even bounded across the stream at the bottom.

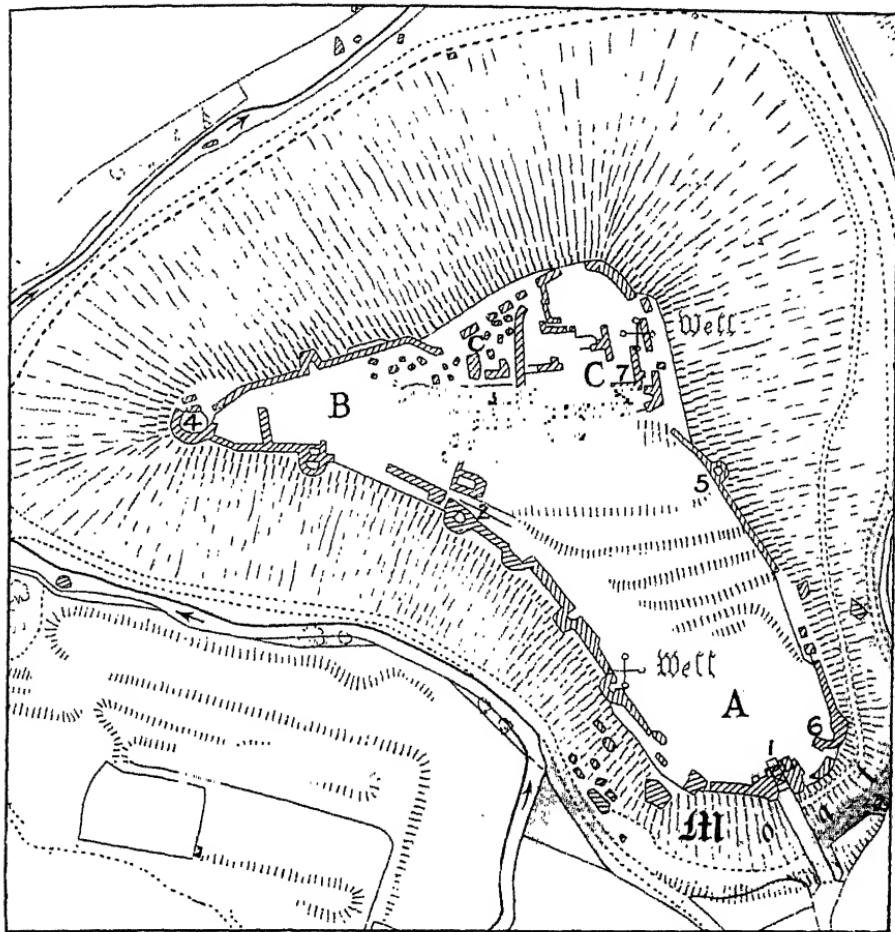
The main approach to the castle is of course on the south, where the trench is crossed by a stone bridge of four arches terminating in an embankment which now fills the space formerly spanned by a drawbridge. The gatehouse is faced by two drum towers, which are solid up to their present summit, but formerly supported an upper storey communicating with a rectangular projection in the rear, now destroyed. The outer ward covers more than half the whole area of the castle, and has four towers in its western and two in its eastern curtain. All these towers are much shattered, and the two to the south-west, as well as those of the gatehouse, have been thrown out of the perpendicular. The south-east tower, called the Horseshoe tower, and the northernmost tower in the west curtain, are open below, while the Plukenet tower on the north-east and the other three on the west are, like the drum towers, solid up to the rampart. The Plukenet tower is so called from a shield on its outer face charged with five fusils in bend, said to be that of Alan Plukenet, constable of the castle in 1269. Above the rampart this tower has three loops, one to the field, and the other two raking the curtain on either side, so constructed as to enable the archer to shoot downwards at an enemy attempting to scale the hillside, while in the splay of each loop on his right is a recess in which he could keep grease for his bowstring and other

requisites—an arrangement also to be seen in the north-western tower, called by Clark the Redan.

Beneath the Plukenet tower is the eastern end of the ditch, attributed to King John, but which is probably part of the original fortifications of the keep and was merely revetted by this monarch.¹ It is about 20 feet deep, and is cut right across the ward and down the slope on the west side of the hill, where it is crossed by the west curtain. At its eastern end, on the contrary, it is terminated by a ridge of solid rock, on which stand the Plukenet tower and its adjacent wall. The masonry of this outer ward is admirably finished, the greater part being faced with ashlar blocks of the bluish grey Purbeck stone, so firmly cemented together that in spite of all the destructive agencies employed they still retain the smoothness and regularity of the original surface.

The middle ward is entered through a gatehouse in the north-west corner of the outer ward, which is constructed on the same plan as the lower gatehouse. The ditch is here crossed by a bridge of two arches, with a span for a drawbridge on the side next the gate, but now, like that of the outer bridge, filled up with earth. This gateway has suffered in a singular manner from the operations of those who "slighted" the castle. The western or outermost of the two drum towers, having been undermined in the fashion noticed above, sank bodily 9 or 10 feet, pulling away half the arch of the gate along with it, and at the same time slid 5 feet forward down the scarp of the ditch, so that the part of the arch thus carried away now barely clears the roadway. Over the gate as you enter are some stone corbels,

¹ P, 76 note.



CORFE

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—MIDDLE WARD
- C.—INNER WARD
- 1.—OUTER GATEHOUSE
- 2.—MIDDLE GATEWAY
- 3.—KEEP
- 4.—BUTTAVANT TOWER
- 5.—PLUKENET TOWER
- 6.—HORSESHOE TOWER
- 7.—QUEEN'S TOWER

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the
sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*



probably intended to carry a hoarding. The curtain is carried up the hill from the eastern drum tower to the keep,¹ and on its inner side was a steep flight of steps by which the keep could be entered near its south-west angle. The ward entered through this broken gatehouse is triangular in shape, the octagonal tower at its apex, called the Butavant (*bout avant*) tower, being the westernmost point of the whole castle. There are two other towers in this ward, one in the north and the other in its south curtain. The former is tolerably perfect, but of the latter only the base remains, and this has sunk below its original level. But the most interesting feature here is a wall of herringbone masonry which extends along the inner face of the south curtain for about 71 feet. It is 3 feet 3 inches thick, and the later wall, about 7 feet 6 inches thick, has been built up against it on the outside. Mr. Thomas Bond, of Tyneham, whose careful *History and Description of Corfe Castle* was published in 1883, discovered by means of excavations that this herringbone wall formed the south side of an oblong building measuring internally about 71 feet by 16 feet 11 inches, but the foundations of the other three sides which he uncovered have again been covered up, and the existing cross-wall is of later date. The building followed the slope of the ground, and at the lower or west end was supported by two buttresses, one at each extremity of the side walls, 3 feet 8 inches wide and 10½ inches in depth. The age and purpose of this building cannot be determined. Herringbone

¹ Clark (*M.M.A.* i. 473) says of this curtain connecting the upper gatehouse with the keep: "It is one of the finest curtain walls in Britain, and almost equal to Cardiff." Mr. Bond showed that it was built in 1236, and there must have been an earlier gatehouse at its lower end, the present one being Edwardian.

work was employed in Norman times, but its use is not confined to any one period ; it is a convenient resource when stones of various sizes have to be laid in courses, the level being preserved by sloping the stones at different angles. We can, however, have little doubt that here are the remains of the earliest building erected on the hill. Mr. Bond assigned good reasons for thinking that it was a church of the basilica kind, and he was inclined to believe that it might be the church which, according to William of Malmesbury,¹ St. Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, built at Corfe when about to make a journey to Rome in 690. The same writer also relates that in his time (the first half of the twelfth century) the church was roofless except for a small protection for the altar, and that the shepherds used to take refuge in it from storms, for that, open as it was, no rain ever entered it. This story, however, would seem to require a less inaccessible site than the top of Corfe Hill. Moreover St. Aldhelm's church would be only a temporary one built for his use while preparing for his journey. Indeed it is not likely that any church still standing can be assigned to St. Aldhelm, great church-builder though he was, and even the Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon, once ascribed to him, is now ascertained to belong to a period not earlier than the latter half of the tenth century.

But even if the building under consideration cannot be the chapel of St. Aldhelm, it might still be, as some are inclined to think, of pre-Norman date. Otherwise we may be content with the theory that it was the

¹ *Locus est in Dorsatensi pago ii milibus a mari disparatus juxta Werham, ubi et Corf castellum pelago prominet. Gesta Pontificum, Rolls Series, p. 364.*

early Norman hall, built before the end of the eleventh century, when the outer defences would consist merely of palisades.

The inner ward, which contained the principal buildings, was entered from the middle ward by a gateway, now destroyed, adjoining the north curtain. Its area is covered by enormous masses of fallen masonry, producing a scene bewildering in the extreme, and making it a very difficult task to get any clear idea of the order which once existed. The parts still standing include, of the keep—the south wall, the southern end of the west wall, and an isolated fragment of the east wall, together with portions of the Queen's hall and chapel to the east of the keep, and of other buildings. The keep when perfect must have been one of the finest buildings of the kind in Britain; it was 60 feet square and 80 feet high, and is majestic even in its decay. Like the keep of Portchester, it was divided throughout its entire height by an internal wall running east and west, and like Portchester too the upper part seems to be a slightly later addition. The first floor was reached by an external staircase¹ built against the west wall, and terminating in a small projecting tower which probably contained the stairs leading to the upper floors, but the whole of its upper part has now disappeared. Beneath the staircase is the entrance to the basement; and in the vestibule at its summit is on the left the doorway opening into the first floor, and on the right the great earthen bastion which projects into the middle ward.

Against the south face of the keep, and covering its eastern half, another tower is built, which now reaches

¹ On the analogy of Rochester and Castle Rising one would imagine that this staircase was once covered by a forebuilding.

as high as the second floor, but is said to have been lowered by Sir Christopher Hatton. It contained garderobes, two on each of its floors, and between it and the keep runs a vaulted gallery with doorways on each side. This gallery extends along this side of the keep for its whole length, and at its western end opened on to the top of the steep steps leading down to the gatehouse of the middle ward, and also on to the great bastion. Clark points out that neither this garderobe tower nor the exterior staircase are bonded into the keep, and are therefore slightly later additions.

East of the keep little can be made out except the traces of the vaulting beneath the Queen's hall and adjacent buildings, and some of the windows of the former. About half a century ago, when Clark wrote, it is possible that the remains were more perfect: "Some of the hall windows," he says, "remain. They are pointed, with drop arch recesses, and stone side seats. The tracery is gone. . . . North of this hall and placed across it, east and west, are the remains of what is regarded with great probability as the chapel. The west door and that of the hall are placed side by side [at right angles to each other?] in a vestibule or porch, entered on the west side by a staircase. The doors are pointed, with half-round bead labels, and a scroll-bead moulding running round the jambs and arch. Inside the chapel door is richer, and has in the arch a double scroll-bead, divided by a hollow, and for the jambs the hollow has been occupied by a detached column of Purbeck marble, which material, though much decayed, is still seen to have formed the base and bell capital. The design, though not highly ornate, is excellent, as is the execution. The whole of this group appears to be Early English of the latter

part of the reign of Henry III."¹ This, or a little later, would also be the date of the outer ward. It should be said that in the careful plan of the castle drawn for Sir Christopher Hatton in 1586 by Ralph Treswell, and reproduced by Mr. George Bankes in his story of Corfe Castle (1853), and also by Mr. Bond, and in the local guide book,² four wards are shown, the "fourth ward" being entered by a gateway at the foot of the exterior staircase to the keep. The present middle and inner wards must have been enclosed about the time of the building of the keep, but their curtains have no doubt received later alterations.

There is not much to tell of the history of the castle before the time of the Civil War. The murder of Edward the Martyr in 979, which according to the Saxon Chronicle was perpetrated at "Corfgeat," took place at least 150 years before the castle was built. The keep, if no more, must have been completed by the time of Stephen, when the place was held against him for the Empress.³ Down to the reign of Elizabeth it was a royal possession, but from time to time granted to a subject. John, who seems to have spent his time in travelling about his dominions to a greater extent than any other sovereign before or since, was often here, and it was here that he imprisoned in 1212 a hermit known as Peter of Pomfret, who foretold that in the following year the

¹ *M.M.A.* i. 472.

² *Guide to Corfe Castle* [by L. C. B.].

³ About 400 yards south-west of the castle is an earthwork called "The Rings," consisting of a circular enclosure with a bailey attached. Mrs. Armitage suggests that this was thrown up by Stephen when he made his attempt on the castle in 1139. If this be so, it would be an example of a "siege castle," the purpose of which "was not for actual attack, but to watch the besieged fort and prevent supplies from being carried in," *Early Norman Castles*, p. 85.

King would lose his throne. Next year when John made over his dominions to the Pope Peter claimed that his prophecy had been fulfilled. John, however, did not regard the transaction in that light, and hanged the prophet in sight of the castle. During the Wars of the Roses Corfe was in the hands of the Lancastrians, but took no part in the struggle, and at last, in 1571, when Elizabeth granted it to Sir Christopher Hatton, the castle finally ceased to be an appanage of the Crown. At this time it was in much disrepair, and Sir Christopher spent large sums in restorations and alterations. In 1635, when it was sold by the widow of Sir Edward Coke¹ to Sir John Bankes, the Attorney-General of the day and afterwards Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, it came into the hands of its present possessors.

When the Civil War broke out the castle was held for the King by Sir John's wife, and sustained two sieges, to be reduced at the last only by treachery. The first siege began in May 1643 and lasted thirteen weeks: a circumstantial account of the operations appears in one of the Royalist prints. At this time Dorset, with the rest of the South of England, excepting Cornwall, was in the hands of the Parliament, Corfe being the only place in the county which still held out for the King. On May-Day it was the custom for the lord of the manor to give the townsfolk and the surrounding gentry leave to hunt a stag on the hills near the castle. The Roundheads at Dorchester and other places in the neighbourhood determined to take advantage of the holiday-makers, and sent a party to pounce upon the sportsmen and surprise the

¹ She had married as her first husband the nephew and heir of Sir Christopher Hatton.

castle. News of their approach, however, got abroad, the chase was given up, and the gates of the castle closed. Then the troopers coming on the scene changed their tactics, and some of them rode up to the castle, pretending that they had only come to see it as peaceable visitors. This ruse was not likely to deceive so capable a woman as Lady Bankes, and she proceeded to put the castle in a state of defence. She also sent to Prince Maurice, who was advancing upon Blandford, for assistance, and Captain Robert Lawrence, a member of a local family, was sent to her. The enemy now planted their artillery—"two pieces of ordnance" only—on the neighbouring hill and played upon the castle and town, but did little damage besides setting a few houses on fire. But under cover of a foggy morning on June 23rd Sir Walter Erle, with a force of five or six hundred men, seized the town and began to assault the castle on all sides. He mounted his batteries on the roof of the church, and did more execution from this point than from any other—a fact which will readily be understood by those who are familiar with the locality. He also attempted to bring into use the old-fashioned movable sheds, under cover of which his men might approach the wall, for the purpose of undermining or boring it. In this case the sheds were called the "sow" and the "boar," "being made with boards lined with wool to dead the shot. The first that moved forward was the sow, but not being musket-proof, she cast nine of eleven of her farrow; for the musketiers from the castle were so good marksmen at their legs, the only part of all their bodies left without defence, that the nine ran away as well as their broken and battered legs would give them leave," and the "boar" under

these circumstances "durst not advance." Thus the besiegers made but little impression, and their remissness encouraged the defenders to make sallies into the country and drive in cattle. One of these raids being observed by the enemy on the hills, they "called to one in a house in the valley, crying, 'Shoot, Anthony'; but Anthony thought it good to sleep in a whole skin, and durst not look out, so that afterwards it grew into a proverbial jeer from the defendants to the assailants, 'Shoot, Anthony.'"

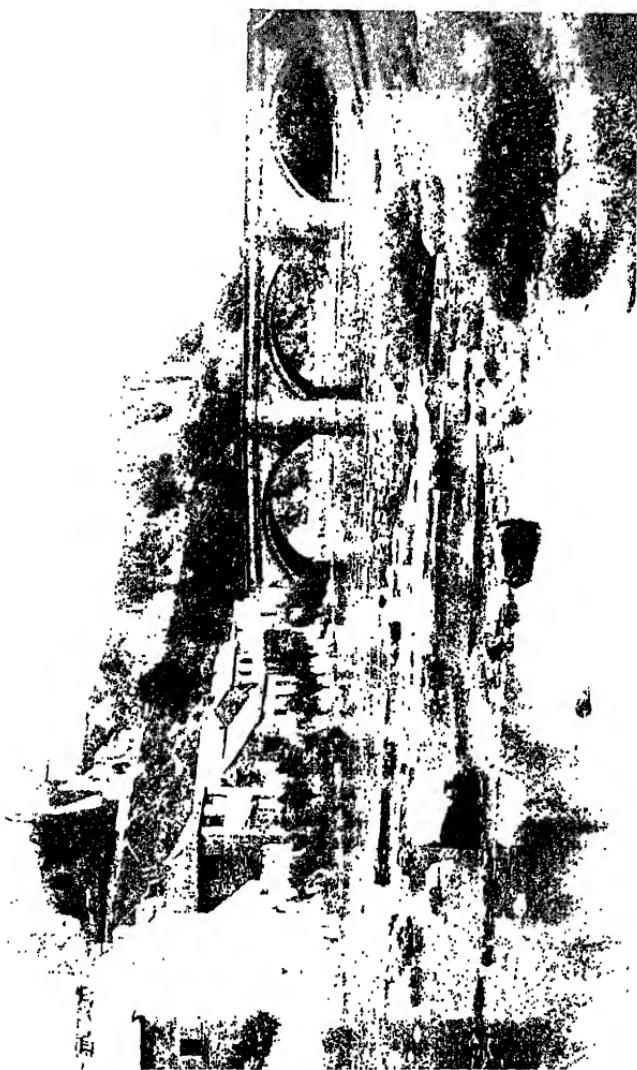
The final assault was made at the beginning of August, when Sir Walter Erle had received from the Earl of Warwick "a hundred and fifty mariners," together with supplies of ammunition and ladders "to assault the castle by scaladoe." According to the Royalist writer the men that Sir Walter had at his disposal were a mere rabble, and in order to bring them up to the attack he had not only to offer them rewards of money, but to make them "pot valiant" by a lavish distribution of "strong waters." The escalade was arranged at two points—one the middle ward, which was defended by Captain Lawrence and the greater part of the garrison, and the other the inner ward, defended by Lady Bankes and her daughters, together with her women servants and five soldiers. At both points the attack was easily repulsed, and under a shower of stones and burning faggots, the assailants were glad to withdraw. The Earl of Carnarvon was now advancing into Dorset and carrying everything before him, and Sir Walter deemed it prudent to raise the siege and beat a retreat.

For the next two years and more Corfe remained undisturbed, but in December 1645 it was again

invested by the Parliament's forces. Lady Bankes was now a widow, Sir John having died at Oxford a year previously. As commander of the garrison she had a clergyman, Dr. Henry Anketell of Wadham College, who held the rank of Colonel, while the besiegers were commanded by Col. John Bingham, the Governor of Poole. The whole of Dorset, with the exception of Corfe and Portland, had by this time been recovered by the Parliament. For some weeks the siege was continued without much result, but the defenders were hard pressed, and in February 1646 a connexion of Cromwell's, probably Col. James Cromwell, son of Oliver's first cousin, and a Royalist, came from Oxford to their relief. He surprised Wareham, took the Governor, Col. Robert Butler, a prisoner with him to Corfe, and made his way into the castle. Butler now endeavoured to bring over some of the garrison to his side, and succeeded in getting Robert Lawrence, now promoted to the rank of colonel, who had distinguished himself in the defence of the castle at the time of its first siege, to join him, and together they made their escape. But the member of the garrison who was chiefly instrumental in the fall of the castle was Lieut.-Col. Thomas Pittman, who entered into correspondence with the enemy for the purpose of putting the castle into their hands. Under pretence of procuring reinforcements he obtained leave from Col. Anketell to quit the castle; as for the besiegers, he would allay any suspicions on their part by saying he had come to arrange an exchange of prisoners. Bingham then procured a hundred picked men from the Weymouth garrison, and with these Pittman came up during night time to the sally-port at the north-

eastern corner of the castle,¹ where Anketell was ready to admit them. When fifty of them had entered, Anketell, who perhaps began to have his suspicions, declared that these were enough, and shut the gate. By this time, however, those who had been admitted made themselves master of the keep and all the upper part of the castle, and when day broke, the besiegers, seeing their friends in possession, made an assault upon the lower ward, and the garrison being between two fires, the governor could only treat for a surrender. Thus the castle finally passed into the hands of the Parliament, February 27, 1646, and on March 5th a vote of the House was passed ordering both it and the neighbouring castle of Wareham to be "slighted." How effectually this order was carried out we have already seen.

¹ A. R. Bayley, *Civil War in Dorset*, p. 302.



RICHMOND FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

CHAPTER VI

RICHMOND

RICHMOND was the *caput baroniae* of one of those large seigniories, including several subordinate lordships, which were termed honours. The Honour of Richmond was founded soon after the Conquest, and its lords selected a site for their castle which may be compared with that occupied by their powerful neighbours, the prince-bishops of Durham. As the towers of Durham crown the lofty cliffs of the Wear, so the towers of Richmond crown the loftier cliffs of the Swale ; but, while the former are a familiar object to all who travel northwards by the east-coast route, the latter are known only to those who make a special pilgrimage into Richmondshire. Of the ecclesiastical towers of Richmond it is not our business to speak ; fine as they are, they are all dominated by the great Norman keep of the Alans—the most conspicuous feature in the landscape, from whatever side the town which grew up under its shadow is approached. A hundred feet from its base to its summit, and standing on a rocky platform itself a hundred and fifty feet above the river, its strength was such that it seems never to have been attacked, while it overawed and kept in subjection the whole country for many miles round.

It stands on the neck of the promontory at the northern extremity of the main ward, and therefore

at the weakest point of the whole enceinte. The shape of this ward, roughly triangular, is conformable to the outline of this rocky headland, which here projects southwards towards the Swale. The south side, overhanging the river, which forms the base of the triangle, is 159 yards in length, and the east and west sides are each about 130 yards. These two sides are protected by steep declivities, and to the eastern curtain is appended a smaller outer ward, now used as a garden, but called, presumably from a previous adaptation to this amusement, "The Cockpit," 80 yards from east to west, and 50 from north to south. The principal buildings, including the hall and chapel, are situated in the south-east part of the main ward, and the keep, as already indicated, at the apex of the triangle. The neck of the promontory was here cut by a ditch running east and west, which was crossed by a drawbridge worked from the gatehouse of a comparatively small enclosure or barbican, into which the keep projected from the main curtain. Part of the eastern wall of this barbican, rising from a revetment 10 or 12 feet deep, still remains.

The keep may be assigned to the time of Alan, the first earl, and his son Conan, 1137-1171.¹ It is not quite square, being 52 feet east and west and 45 feet north and south, but the difference is hardly noticeable in a distant view. Its three upper floors are marked outside by a stringcourse and two sets off. At the angles are flat pilasters, carried up as the outer walls of the corner turrets, and there are two others on each

¹ After the death of Conan, Henry II kept the castle in his own hands for some time, and seems to have carried on the work. He spent £51 11s. 3d. in 1171 on "operationes domorum et turris," and £30 6s. in 1174 on "operationes castelli et domorum." *Pipe Rolls*, quoted by Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, p. 195.

of the north and south faces, and one on the narrower east and west faces.

The masonry of the basement on the south side is of a rougher character than the rest, and was covered by a low forebuilding into which the doors of the basement opened outwards. This is a singular arrangement, which requires explanation, and Mr. J. F. Curwen suggests¹ that the large round-headed archway containing these doors was the original entrance to the ward, and that the keep was afterwards built up to and against it, the result being that from its interior the doors would open *outwards*, though originally they had opened *inwards* into the ward. This entrance was then covered by the forebuilding, which, one would imagine, must itself have had at least a postern door into the ward, otherwise it would have been simpler to have built up the great archway altogether. But the main entrance to the keep was by a small door opening on to the first floor at the east end of the south face, and probably reached, as at Conisborough, by a ladder which could be drawn up into the passage within the doorway. The ramp by which it is now approached is a modern contrivance, and does not appear in the beautiful engraving of 1819 published in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*.

When the original entrance to the ward, on Mr. Curwen's theory, was blocked by the keep, we must suppose that the present entrance to the east of it was made, and it must not be forgotten that this, together with the whole apex of the triangle and the projecting keep, was protected by the barbican.

¹ *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. vi. p. 327. This theory had already been put forward in 1887 by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xliii. p. 179.

The windows of the keep are mere loops, except three round-headed windows on the first floor looking into the barbican; they are flanked by columns both inside and outside, and being rather large for their position on the most assailable side of the castle, are perhaps later insertions.

The well, as at Conisborough, Rochester, and Castle Rising, is in the centre of the ground floor, but in the fourteenth century a square pillar, to support the vaulting then introduced in the place of the original flat timber ceiling, was built over it, and a recess was made in its east side, in which the hoisting apparatus could be worked. At the same time a vice was inserted in the south-west corner, establishing a communication between the basement and the first floor.

Entering the first floor by the door in the nook at the south-east corner, the visitor finds himself in a passage with a doorway immediately on his left opening on to a staircase constructed in the thickness of the south wall, and lighted by loops, the uppermost of which seems to have been utilised as a door to reach the roof of the forebuilding. Farther on along the passage another door on the left opens into the first-floor apartment, in the centre of which is a plain cylindrical column, apparently intended to support a vaulting which was never put up.

The second floor is entered from the mural staircase at its south-west corner, and is lighted by loops high up in the east and west walls, beneath which are vaulted chambers contrived in the thickness of the walls. Near the top of the stairs there seems at one time to have been a communication with the battlements of the adjacent western curtain. A similar staircase

to the one below leads from the south-east corner through the south wall up to the third floor, and is then continued round the corner and through the west wall up to the battlements.

As is so often the case with these Norman keeps, the third floor was an addition of rather later date. The original building had only two floors above the basement, and the roof was pointed, the ridge running east and west. The walls were then raised to include a third floor with a flat roof. In modern times this has been removed, and from the inner side of the battlements there is a drop down to a new roof covering the second floor.¹

Leaving the keep, a tower in the east curtain is reached, the basement of which consists of a little vaulted chapel or oratory dedicated to St. Nicholas. A Norman arcading runs round three of its sides, and in the fourth or east side is a long round-headed loop, widely splayed, to form an altar and a circular recess on either side. The dimensions of this chapel are only 12 feet by $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The rooms in the upper part of the tower were probably occupied by the priest.

The domestic buildings occupy the south-east corner of the main ward. Those of the Norman period probably disappeared in the thirteenth century, for in 1216 John ordered the castle to be destroyed and its buildings levelled to the ground, and in 1342 it was reported to be in ruins and worth nothing. There remains, however, a barrel-vaulted sally-port leading into the outer ward, which, like much of the east

¹ Such at least was Clark's opinion (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. Part xxxiii. 1885). Mr. Alfred Harvey, on the other hand (*Castles and Walled Towns of England*, p. 84), is inclined to think that the third stage was always open to the sky.

curtain, may be part of the original work. For the rest, the ruins which we now see may be assigned to the latter half of the fourteenth century. Clark indeed considered that Scolland's hall was of the same date as the keep, but the side windows are grouped in couplets, and Mr. Curwen, who denies that this was ever a Norman practice, may be right in attributing it to John of Gaunt.

In the extreme south-eastern corner is a long rectangular tower built over the sally-port, with a projection into the outer ward commonly called the Golden tower, from a story of treasure having been found in it. On either side of the sally-port passage is a mural chamber, and over the whole a withdrawing room communicating with the east, or dais end of the hall, and with a two-light window to the south. North of this is a larger parlour, and north of this again the chapel, all three rooms being connected by doorways. In the eastern jamb of the doorway between the parlour and the chapel is a slanting opening, perhaps used for confession, and near it, to the right of the altar, which would be against the east wall, a trefoil-headed piscina. This chapel was 21 feet by 13, and there was a large west window, of which the jambs remain. The basement story of this range was probably used for stores and offices.

Scolland's hall is, next to the keep, the most remarkable portion of the castle. Scolland was lord of Bedale in 1089, and one of the feudal tenants who held commands in the castle. The question is how his name came to be attached to a fourteenth-century hall, and Mr. Curwen thinks that it was due to the fact that the hall was built on the site of what in Norman times was known as Scolland's tower—the tower, that is, in which Scolland, a tenant by castle-guard, had

his station, just as "Robin Hood's tower," containing the chapel of St. Nicholas, was the station of the lords of Middleham (did they share quarters with the priest?), and as the "Golden tower" was that of the chamberlain.

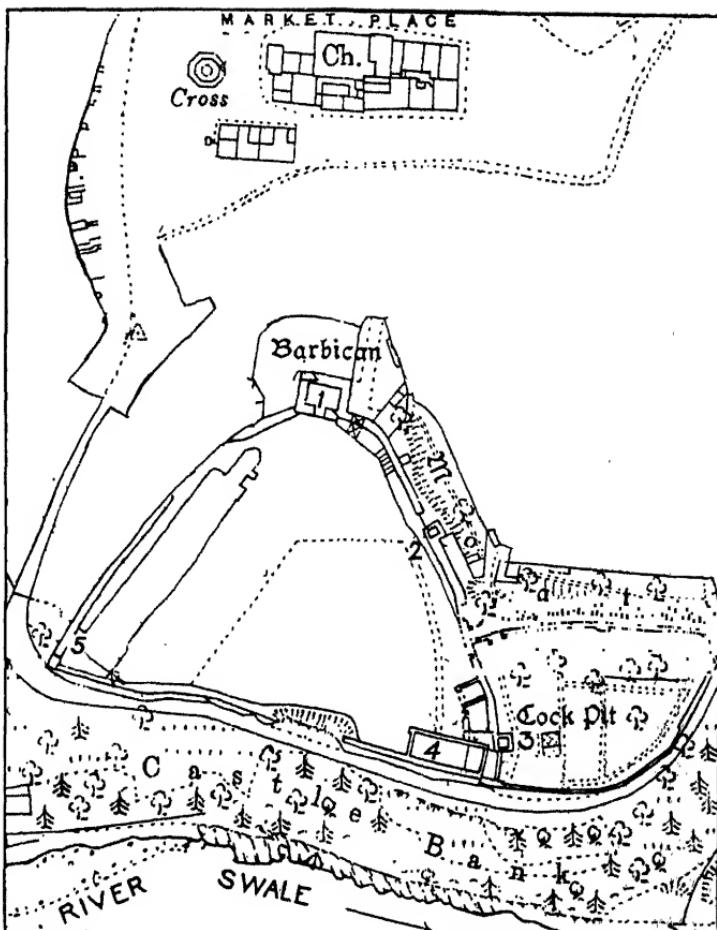
The hall was of great size, 79 feet by 26 feet, with an undercroft or cellar beneath it, the eastern end of which was walled off to serve as an entrance to the sally-port. It is lighted by eight loops in the south wall, two of which are east of the partition and entered by a door from the ward. The hall above has a striking range of windows on either side, each composed of two round-headed lights coupled under a round arch, five on the south side and four on the north, the window at the dais end on this side having been replaced by one of larger size. Above the range on the south side, the corbel table which supported the roof remains, but on the north side it has gone. The west or lower end of the hall is lighted by a triplet of Early English character under a round arch, and below are the usual doors leading to the kitchen, buttery, and pantries. At this end, too, in the north wall, was the main entrance, which was reached, as at Ludlow and Kenilworth, by an external flight of stairs. In the north-west corner was a vice leading to the roof, which could be manned if necessary, while on the outside of the south wall, overlooking the river, and at the level of the floor, is a range of square holes to receive the joists of a projecting brattice or hoard. If there was a fireplace in the hall, all traces of it have disappeared, and the floor, being of wood, can hardly have supported a central hearth.

Of the kitchen and offices to the west of the hall scarcely any traces are left, and beyond these there

was probably only a low parapet, for the rock is steep and its upper face revetted. At the south-west corner there is a small rectangular tower, and near this in the west curtain is the window of a third chapel, founded in 1293 by John de Braine, the Earl of Richmond of the day, for six chaplains chosen out of the canons of Egleston Abbey on the Tees, who were to be responsible for the daily services. Nothing but the window remains.

It was probably in 1070,¹ after the suppression of the northern insurrection and the consequent harrying of Yorkshire, that the Conqueror bestowed the Honour of Richmond upon his friend and supporter, Alan the Red. The district had been a northern possession of Edwin, Earl of Mercia, whose local mansion at Gilling was three miles north-east of Richmond. Alan was too experienced a soldier not to see the advantages of the rock above the Swale, and he therefore abandoned Gilling and established himself on the site of the present castle. His fortifications, hastily raised to suit the requirements of the moment, were no doubt of wood, and were gradually superseded by stone as opportunity allowed. He was a member of the Breton reigning family, and a cousin of the ruling count, and for the next three hundred years the fortunes of Richmond and Brittany were closely interwoven. Alan the Red died in 1089, and was succeeded by his brother Alan the Black, whose grandson, a third Alan, the founder of Jervaulx Abbey, was the first of the family to bear the title

¹ It appears from a charter of Henry II that during the lifetime of William I, Earl Alan gave the chapel in the castle of Richmond to the Abbey of St. Mary at York, which he had founded. Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, p. 193.



RICHMOND

- 1.—KEEP
- 2.—ROBIN HOOD'S TOWER
- 3.—GOLDEN TOWER
- 4.—SCOLLAND'S HALL
- 5.—JOHN DE BRAINE'S CHAPEL

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of Earl of Richmond. He married Bertha, the heiress of Brittany, and their son, Conan, was both Earl of Richmond and Count of Brittany. Whenever this combination of titles occurred it was a difficult matter for the holder of them to please two masters, and he could hardly be loyal to the one without offending the other : accordingly the King of England showed his displeasure by depriving him of Richmond, and the King of France by confiscating Brittany.

Conan was the father of Constance, the wife of Henry II's son Geoffrey, and the mother of Arthur, the best-known victim of his uncle John. Arthur's half-sister Alice, the daughter of Constance by a third husband, was Countess of Richmond and Duchess of Brittany, and brought both honours to her husband Peter de Braine, the grandfather of the John who founded the chapel on the west side of the castle. The last holder of both titles was John the Valiant, who was deprived of Richmond by Richard II in 1383, for adherence to the French king. Before this, from 1342-1372, the earldom had been held by John of Gaunt, the builder of the great hall at Kenilworth, and most probably also of Scolland's hall and the other fourteenth-century buildings here. Later earls of Richmond were Edmund Tudor, created in 1452 by Henry VI, and his son Henry, who came to the throne as Henry VII, and who bestowed the name of his Yorkshire castle, which had now fallen into neglect, upon another "mount" by the Thames, where stood the ancient royal palace of Sheen.

CHAPTER VII

ROCHESTER

ROCHESTER, the Roman Durobrivae, situated at the point where the London, Canterbury, and Dover road crosses the Medway, has always been a place of importance, and still retains traces of its earliest fortifications. The Roman wall enclosed an area much smaller in extent than that of the modern city, and it was in its south-western angle that the Norman castle was built. But the expression Norman castle must here be used with a difference. The castle within the Roman wall was a stone castle, and, as we learn from the *Textus Roffensis*,¹ was built by Bishop Gundulph after the Conqueror's death between the years 1087 and 1089. There was, however, an earlier castle mentioned in *Domesday*, not of stone, and *outside* the wall²; at least this is the natural inference from the statement that Gundulph's castle was both built of stone and situated *inside* the wall.

This earlier castle was doubtless founded soon after the Conquest either by William himself or by his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, and we need not go very far to find it. Just to the

¹ Ed. Hearne, 1720, pp. 145 ff.

² The ditches are now in great part filled in, and the whole site forms part of the grounds of a modern house.

south of Gundulph's castle, the wall of which here coincided with the Roman wall, is a mound known as Boley (Beaulieu?) Hill, which is in fact the *motte* of a fortification of the ordinary mound-and-bailey character, and provided with the usual ditches. This fortification had long been conjectured to be the work of the Danes, but there is no jot of evidence for attributing it to this people, and both appearances and analogy are in favour of Mrs. Armitage's suggestion¹ that we have here the original palisaded fortress of the Conquest, a theory which is further supported by the fact that when Gundulph was digging his ditch round three sides of his new castle—the fourth is protected by the river—he cut through the Roman wall at the south-east corner of his *enceinte* in order to form a connexion with the already existing ditch of the old castle, thus converting it into a kind of outwork.² The whole fortification would now be surrounded by a continuous ditch the extremities of which to the north and south rested on the river.

The area enclosed by Gundulph was much the same as that of the castle as we find it to-day, though, as we shall see, it was slightly widened on the south side in the thirteenth century. Remains of his work may be found in the west curtain, where it is built against the inner side of the Roman wall, while inside again are the pointed arches of Henry III's time. None of the buildings erected within the *enceinte*, however,

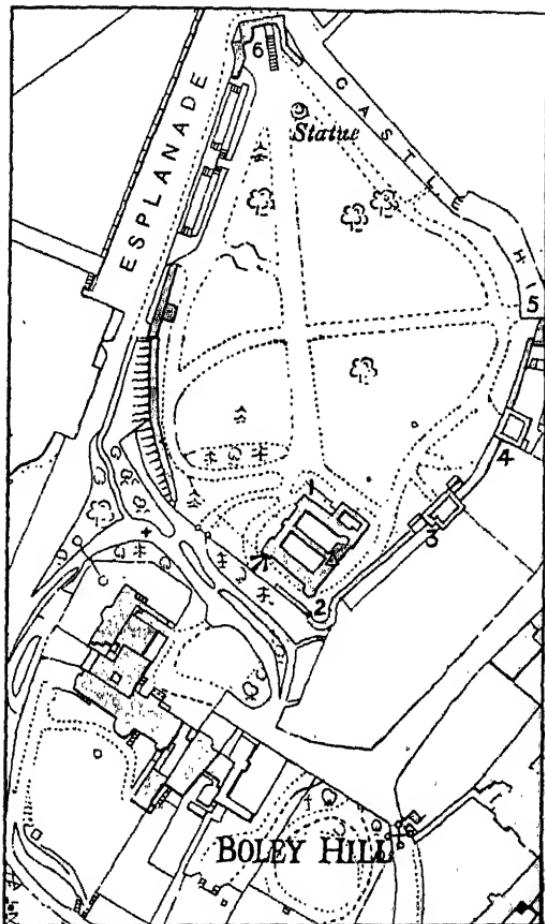
¹ *English Historical Review*, 1904, and *Early Norman Castles*, pp. 196, 197.

² In 1226 a drawbridge and *bretasche* or wooden tower were ordered for the south side of the castle. The Rev. Greville M. Livett (*Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxi.) suggests that these were intended to connect the outwork with the main castle. See also Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, pp. 196-201.

date as far back as Gundulph's time, in spite of the fact that the keep formerly went by the name of Gundulph's tower, for Gundulph died in 1108, and, as Mr. Hartshorne¹ showed on historical and architectural evidence, the keep was not built before 1126. In this year the King, who had acquired the castle from the see of Rochester by exchange for land in the neighbourhood, bestowed it upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, William of Corbeuil, who died in 1136 and is recorded to have built "*egregiam turrim*," a magnificent tower: this could be none other than the present keep, and even in its ruined state an *egregia turris* it still remains.

The castle may now be examined in greater detail. Situated on a low cliff which rises from the right bank of the river, here about a thousand feet wide, the lofty keep is the most imposing feature in the landscape. The area enclosed by the walls (this does not of course include the outwork of Boley Hill) is about $4\frac{1}{4}$ acres, and is roughly lozenge-shaped; the length is about 160 yards, and the breadth 130. It was once divided into a large outer and small inner ward by a cross-wall a little to the north of the keep. About half of the curtain has disappeared, and the fragments that remain are of different dates. The oldest part is on the west side above the river, where it coincides for a short distance with the Roman wall, and where, as already noticed, Gundulph's work may be traced. The south side also originally coincided with the Roman wall, and

¹ *Archæological Journal*, 1863. His authorities are Gervase of Canterbury, the biographer of William of Corbeuil, and the continuator of Florence of Worcester. The doubt as to Gundulph's claim to the keep is as old as 1782; see the Rev. Samuel Denne's *Observations* prefixed to King's *Observations on Ancient Castles*, p. 8; he would, however, make William's *egregia turris* the forebuilding only.



ROCHESTER

- 1.—KEEP
- 2.—DRUM TOWER
- 3, 4.—FOURTEENTH CENTURY TOWERS
- 5.—SITE OF GATEHOUSE
- 6.—WATER TOWER

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against it the keep was built, but when the repairs were executed under Henry III this part of the curtain was rebuilt a few feet further out, so as to leave a space between it and the keep, and at the same time the round bastion at this (the south-east) angle of the curtain was added. The east side with the two square towers, one breaking the line of the wall and the other projecting outside it, is of Edward III's time. At the north-east angle was the gatehouse with a drawbridge for the ditch. At the north-west angle, where is now the modern entrance made in the last century, was a tower, also dating from the time of Edward III; it contained a shaft the entrance to which is now below the ground level and by its means stores could be raised from the river—a contrivance which reminds us of the arrangements for the same purpose at Chepstow. The curtain to the south of this tower on the river side is said to have been carried away in the reign of Elizabeth to build the fort called Upnor Castle.

The keep, which occupies the south-eastern corner of the enclosure, is one of the finest examples of its kind. It is 113 feet high to the top of the battlements,¹ and the corner turrets rise some 12 feet higher. It is 70 feet square at the base, where the walls are 12 feet thick; at the summit they are reduced to 10 feet. The south-east angle, which was rebuilt by Henry III, has a rounded projection—it will be remembered that this was the age of round towers. The other three are square, formed in the usual manner by the junction of broad, flat pilasters, which are carried up at the top to form the exterior of the turrets. Those at the two western corners rise from a plinth and have a hollow

¹ So Clark, *M.M.A.* ii. 409. The local guidebook says 104.

at the point of juncture, those at the north-east corner are nooked in this way only above the forebuilding. Each face has a flat pilaster in the centre rising from the plinth, and the north face has a second above the forebuilding. There are five tiers of round-headed windows or loops, besides those in the corner turrets, marking the basement and the three upper floors, the second floor, which has a gallery running all round the upper part of its walls, having two tiers.

It will be noticed that the ashlar work of these windows, as well as most of that in the interior of the keep within reach, has been torn away ; but this work of destruction only dates from the eighteenth century, and the *Guide*,¹ already quoted, tells how it happened. The proprietor of the castle about 1730, being anxious to sell, and unable to find a purchaser, determined to dispose of the materials piecemeal. First the timber—doors, joists, and flooring—was taken down and sold, thus completely gutting the interior ; next the ashlar work, of Caen stone, was made over to a firm of London masons, who tore away all they could get at ; and lastly, the remaining shell of the building was offered to a local roadmaker. Fortunately, however, this enterprising tradesman, after experimenting on the east side, found that the cost of pulling down the huge tower would be greater than the value of the materials, and abandoned the idea.

It was after these proceedings that the two entrances at the ground level were made, the one by enlarging a loop under the drawbridge of the forebuilding, and the other, by which visitors now enter, cut through the wall into the lower dungeon of the forebuild-

¹ *Illustrated Guide to Rochester Castle*, by Edwin Harris.

ing.¹ Beneath the floor of the keep basement was a cellar, so that when the timbers of this floor were removed those who entered under the drawbridge were confronted by a dangerous pitfall. The cellar was therefore filled with earth up to the old floor-level, and, at the same time, the underground part of the lower dungeon of the forebuilding was filled up to the level of the present wooden bridge. As time went on the fact that this filling-in had ever taken place was forgotten, and Clark was persuaded that no subterranean chambers had ever existed. Indeed, it was not till the early years of the present century that the true state of affairs was discovered by Mr. George Payne in the course of the repairs which he was carrying out for the preservation of the whole building; and both chambers were cleared out and restored to their original state.

Timber platforms have been erected, by means of which the interior of the keep can be easily inspected; and though the floors have gone, the mural gallery of the second or main floor can be traversed, as well as the battlements. As was the case with most of the other square keeps which have already been described, the interior is divided by a cross-wall running east and west, so that each story contains a north and a south chamber. The several stages are the basement, with its underground cellar, the first floor, the second floor, with its gallery, and the third floor. The stages of the forebuilding are the lower, or underground, dungeon, the upper dungeon, the vestibule, and the kitchen.

To begin with the keep itself, it will be noticed

¹ In King's time (1776) the entrance was through a breach on the east side, probably made by the roadmaker.

that the number of windows varies on the several floors, the gallery having fourteen, seven in either chamber. The original entrance through the forebuilding being on the first floor, the basement—which is now entered by a bridge through the lower dungeon—could only be reached by descending the vice in the north-east corner. Both its north and south chambers, with the cellars beneath them, must have been mainly used for stores. In the centre of the cross-wall is the well, with an opening into the north chamber, the pipe ascending in the thickness of the wall and having a similar opening into each of the upper floors. The north chamber is lighted by three loops, one in each of the outer walls, and, as already mentioned, that in the north wall has been broken away in modern times to form the entrance from the drawbridge pit. Between this broken loop and the entrance from the vice are two openings—the western leads by a gentle slope into the upper dungeon of the forebuilding, and the other (the visitor's present entrance) to the steps descending into the lower dungeon. In the south chamber, which is entered from the north chamber by two doors in the cross-wall, two shafts from garderobes in the window-jambs of the floor above have been broken into. Mr. Payne¹ found that they terminated about a foot below the surface of the cellar in a flat layer of mortar, and must have been cleaned out from within, there being no opening in the outer wall.

The vice in the north-east corner of the keep ascends to the battlements, communicating on the way with each floor and with the mural gallery. On the first floor in the south-west angle a second vice starts,

¹ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxvii.

from the south chamber, also rising to the battlements.

The north chamber of the first floor contains the main entrance to the keep from the vestibule of the forebuilding. It had a portcullis on its outer side, of which the grooves may be seen, and within this was the door, secured by a stout bar: the recesses on either side would hold a lamp and the keys. Beyond the entrance, between two windows, is the fireplace, which, like the others in this building, is round-backed, and in each of them the smoke escapes through a flue opening in the outer face of the tower. In the north-west turret is a vaulted room, lighted by a loop, and with a small fireplace in its north-west corner, east of which is a door opening on to the leads of the lower gateway tower. In the east wall of this north division of the first floor is a recess, containing on the right the passage to a garderobe, and in front a slanting passage closed by a postern, from which a plank bridge crossed to the rampart of the curtain. If the curtain was taken its defenders could thus retire into the keep, drawing the plank in after them and barring the door. There is not much to say about the south chamber of this floor. Two of the window recesses¹ contain the garderobes, the shafts of which have been mentioned in connection with the basement, and there is a third in the north jamb of the east window; the south jamb of this window is penetrated by a passage leading to windows in the rebuilt angle of the keep.

The second floor, with its gallery, forms the grand feature of the keep. Like the floor below, it is provided with fireplaces, and some of its window-jambs with garderobes; but its height, 32 feet, and its two

¹ One in the west, and the other in the south wall.

tiers of windows, the upper opening from the gallery, at once distinguish it. Besides this, the cross-wall, instead of being provided with two openings only, is pierced by a splendid arcade of four unequal arches, two on either side of the central well-shaft. The columns are round and massive, with fluted capitals and ribbed arches, the latter rising into the gallery portion of the chamber. The north and south divisions were separated by a stone screen about 10 feet high, filling the intervals between the pillars and containing one or two doors of communication. In the north chamber, over the main entrance below, is the door leading to the room in the forebuilding, over the vestibule.

The gallery, as already stated, runs all round the tower, with windows in the outer wall and openings in the inner wall looking down into the two chambers. In its eastern alley there is a rise in the floor, where the masonry has been thickened to take the thrust of the cross-wall. In the northern alley is a two-light window, discovered and reopened by Mr. Payne. It formerly commanded the roof of the forebuilding, but when that was raised 6 feet it was closed up and plastered over on the outside.

The third floor, which may have been a later addition,¹ contained what Clark described as "two very cheerful and handsome rooms, 25 feet high, with larger windows than the floors below and a finer view."² There are mural galleries connecting the

¹ Mr. Harold Sands (*Memorials of Old Kent*, 1907) writes that originally the hall of the keep was probably covered by a hipped roof sunk below the battlements; at a later period the central wall was raised and a flat roof, covered with lead at the level of the rampart walk, replaced the earlier and lower roof, making two more rooms.

² *M.M.A.* ii. 415.

window recesses in groups of two, or at most three, but they do not pass behind the fireplaces. The eastern portion of the south chamber contained the chapel. In its eastern wall may be seen the northern half of a large pointed arch, with its supporting pillars, now built up. This was probably the arch of the altar recess; but when the south-east angle was undermined and fell, in 1215, it carried with it the southern half of the arch, together with portions of the wall on either side of the angle. Until Mr. Payne had it filled in a fissure could be seen where Henry III's rebuilding of this corner had fallen away from the old work.

The battlement walk is now protected on its inner side by an iron railing, which takes the place of the rear wall. At the level of the walk will be seen a row of square openings, through which in time of siege the beams for supporting a hoard could be thrust. The turrets at the four corners, each of which has two doors opening upon the adjacent walks, were provided with numerous pigeon-holes, for a good supply of these birds would be valuable as food to a beleaguered garrison, and some of them might also be used as carriers. At the present day the whole castle swarms with innumerable pigeons, which seem to have made it their abode for centuries, and are perhaps descended from Norman ancestors. Mr. Payne found that they had by their nesting done much damage to the walls, and he did his best to repair it.

The forebuilding tower and its approach may be compared with that at Castle Rising, but here the stairs are believed to have begun at the north end of the west face of the keep and then turned the angle. They then passed through a low gateway tower, and

were carried up the north face to the drawbridge which was lowered from the gateway of the vestibule.

Whether this forebuilding is of the same age as the keep itself has been disputed. Clark thought it was, "though the work is of an inferior character"¹; but Mr. Harris, the writer of the local guide, gives good reasons for believing it to be a later addition, probably of the time of Henry III. He points out that the walls are 6 feet thick only, while those of the keep are 12 feet; that the windows are of two lights, while those of the keep, with the exception of the one in the gallery long blocked up, are of one light only; and that the quoins are of Kentish iron-stone, whereas those of the keep are of Caen stone. He further notices the difference in the mouldings over the two main entrances—that in the vestibule, and that in the wall of the keep; but this consideration has perhaps less weight. If his view is the correct one, the keep must have been originally entered by a movable ladder, or by a flight of steps separated from the entrance by a plank which could be drawn inside by the garrison as at Conisborough.

The lower dungeon of the forebuilding is 17 feet 9 inches deep, and it was entered, as we have seen, from the basement of the keep by a flight of steps, the lowest of which is 10 feet from the bottom. At the east end of this gloomy prison, which was only ventilated by a small opening slanting upwards in its

¹ Further: "There is a good deal in the character of the forebuilding [*e.g.* the size of the vestibule windows, which as long ago as 1782 were cited by the Rev. Samuel Denne (*Observations* prefixed to King's *Observations on Ancient Castles*, p. 12) as evidence of a later date] that looks as though it was an addition to the keep; and yet this cannot be, seeing that the difference in its masonry includes that of the adjacent staircase turret, which could scarcely be an addition." *M.M.A.* ii. 419.

north wall, is a space 4 feet 7 inches wide separated by a low wall, the top of which was formed by a timber beam. This was a cesspit into which the shaft from a garderobe in the prison above opened, thus enhancing the loathsomeness of the apartment. The roof is vaulted and groined.

The upper dungeon or prison, as already noticed, is only entered by the sloping passage through the wall of the basement of the keep. Tradition says that it was occupied by the Queen of Scotland, the wife of Robert Bruce, for six months in 1314, the year of Bannockburn. It is lighted by two openings rather larger than the one in the dungeon below.

Over this is the vestibule, with the entrance to the first floor of the keep in its south wall, and the main entrance from the staircase and drawbridge in its west wall. In the east wall is one, and in the north wall are three two-light windows; in the west wall near the door is a small loop.

As for the room forming the top story of the fore-building, it has been sometimes described as a chapel and sometimes as a kitchen. Clark at one time spoke of it as the former, at another as the latter,¹ and in fact there are no distinguishing features, with the exception of a large stone drain, to enable us to decide. The drain certainly seems in favour of the kitchen theory; on the other hand, kitchens in these square keeps are rarities, the cooking apparently having been done on a brazier in the hall itself. As for a chapel, there was already one, as we have seen, in the south-east part of the third floor, and two would not have been required. But if we may suppose this chapel to have been disused when Henry III rebuilt this corner

¹ *M.M.A.* i. 133, and ii. 418.

of the keep, and if the forebuilding is also his work, it may be urged that he would have provided for a new chapel to take the place of the old one.

Passing to the events of which the castle has been the scene, the reader will bear in mind that there are three important dates in the earlier history of the fabric: 1066, the construction of the first castle of earth and timber; 1089, the building of Bishop Gundulph's stone castle, to which the old castle became a kind of outwork; and 1126, the erection of the keep inside Gundulph's walls by Archbishop William of Corbeuil.

It was the first castle at Boley Hill which was held by the rebel lords against William Rufus in 1088. The insurrection, nominally in favour of Duke Robert, was headed by the Bishop of Bayeux, who had thrown himself into Rochester as the strongest place in his earldom of Kent. Leaving there Eustace of Boulogne, Robert of Belesme, and other insurgent nobles, he had betaken himself to Pevensey,¹ then garrisoned by his brother Robert of Mortain. When that stronghold fell he was taken prisoner and brought before the walls of Rochester. The castle was summoned to surrender in the King's name, but a vigorous sally by the garrison succeeded in getting possession of the person of the bishop and carrying him within the castle. He was now to his great content once more among his friends, and might hope to bid defiance to his nephew. But a great host of the English, who detested Odo and his cause, joined the King, and the castle was closely beset. Two wooden towers were erected to annoy the besieged, and at length, worn out by sickness and famine, the garrison were reduced to submission.

¹ See Chapter II.

Odo's life was spared, but he was banished from England for ever.

The next siege took place more than a hundred years later, when Gundulph's stone *enceinte* and Archbishop William's *keep* had both been built. In the autumn of 1215, when King John had clearly shown that he had no intention of keeping to the provisions of the Great Charter, the baronial party deputed William de Albini of Belvoir, one of the twenty Charter barons, to seize the castle and hold it against the King. John arrived before the walls with a train of petraries and other machines, but the other barons, instead of coming to the rescue, left Albini to shift for himself. The King, with his vast army of foreign mercenaries, gave the besieged no rest day or night, but kept on pouring showers of missiles upon them and making incessant assaults. A brave defence was however maintained and much damage inflicted on the enemy, till at last the King had recourse to a mine, and effected a great breach in Gundulph's wall, driving the defenders into the *keep*. The tactics which had proved so successful with the outer wall were now repeated, and the miners were set to work at the *keep*. So effective were their operations that the whole of the south-eastern corner was brought down, and the garrison driven into the northern portion of the tower. This northern half, it will be remembered, contained the well, and the incident is of special interest as showing how when one part of these great keeps had fallen into the hands of the enemy, the other was still capable of defence. But it was not merely a question of keeping off the enemy; provisions had for some time been running short, and the besieged had already been compelled to subsist upon horseflesh. At last, on

St. Andrew's Day, after three months' siege, when they had not a single mouthful left, they capitulated.¹

We have already seen that after this disaster the keep was repaired and the destroyed angle rebuilt by Henry III. The strength of the restored building was put to the test in 1264, when the castle was attacked by de Montfort. The attempt of St. Louis to mediate between the two parties early in this year having failed, war became inevitable. King Henry and his son were in the eastern Midlands, while de Montfort had got possession of London. Anxious to open communications with his allies in the Cinque Ports, he found that his road was blocked by Earl Warenne at Rochester. According to the chronicler,² the English were then utterly ignorant of the proper method of conducting a siege, but Simon taught them a lesson. He first burnt the bridge over the Medway by means of a fireship, and thus cut off communication with the capital; then—having taken first the suburb and next, like his predecessor half a century before, the outer castle, including no doubt the outwork of Boley Hill—he laid siege to the keep. For some ten days a vigorous attack was maintained by means of petraries and other projectiles, but at the end of Easter week news arrived that the King was rapidly approaching to the relief of the defenders, and de Montfort, though on the point of success, deemed it prudent to draw off his men and raise the siege. Three weeks later he gained his last victory at Lewes.

This was the last time that the castle played any important part in the history of the country. A century later Edward III undertook repairs on a large scale

¹ Roger of Wendover, Rolls Series, ii. 148-150.

² Rishanger, Camden Society, p. 25.

and built the towers to the east and north of the bailey already mentioned. All these have more or less disappeared ; the keep alone remains in anything like its original splendour.

The castle continued to be a royal possession till 1610, when James I bestowed it upon Sir Anthony Weldon. It passed later to the Earl of Jersey, and is now the property of the Corporation of Rochester, by whom the enclosure has been laid out as a public garden.

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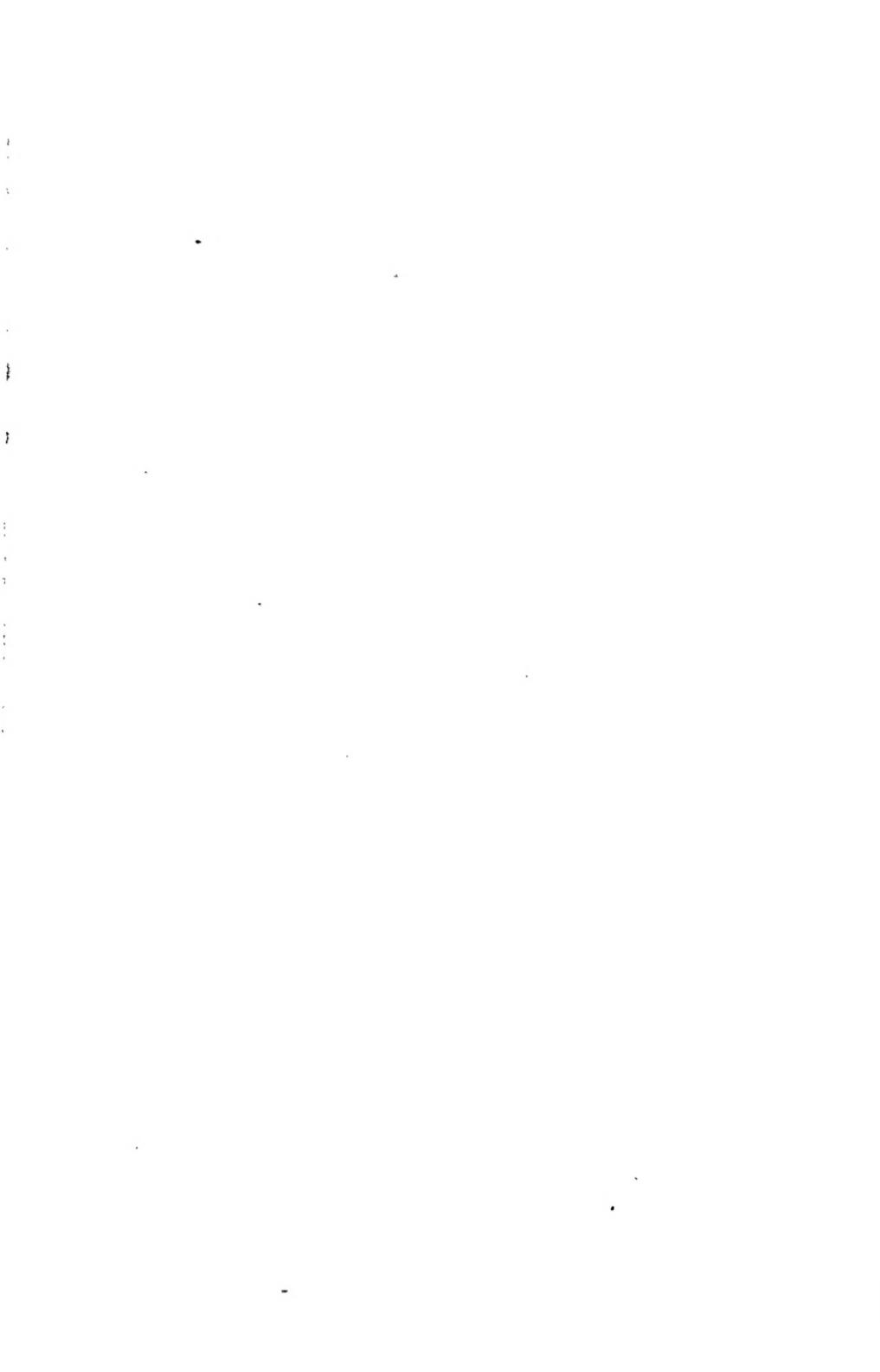
CLUN

FOURTEEN or fifteen miles to the north-west of Ludlow stand the ruins of Clun, one of a line of border castles including Radnor, Wigmore, Bishops Castle, and Montgomery. The remains now consist of a mound crowned with two fragments of its curtain, three sides of a weatherbeaten keep built against the mound, and an outwork of three platforms defending the mound on the north and east, while the two other sides are surrounded by the river from which the place takes its name. The best general view of the castle is to be obtained from the Bishops Castle road, whence the keep forms the central feature in the landscape.

The founders of the castle began by excavating a circular ditch at a spot where the river makes a sharp bend to the east, and throwing up the soil on the inside to form the mound which rises about 90 feet above the river and about 35 feet above the ditch. Its summit, about 120 feet in diameter, would be defended by a palisade, to be replaced later by a stone curtain, while on its south side a small hillock was heaped up to support a wooden tower. These arrangements thus resembled those which are supposed, with good reason, to have obtained originally at Guildford, and in both



CLUN FROM THE NORTHEAST



cases a rectangular keep was afterwards added to the side of the mound, for the summit was not calculated to support its weight. In both cases the foundations of the outer wall are laid at the foot of the mound, and those of the side walls let in to its slope, but while at Guildford the floor of the basement is on a level with the top of the mound, at Clun it is considerably below it, and thus there are three upper stages above the basement, while at Guildford there are only two.

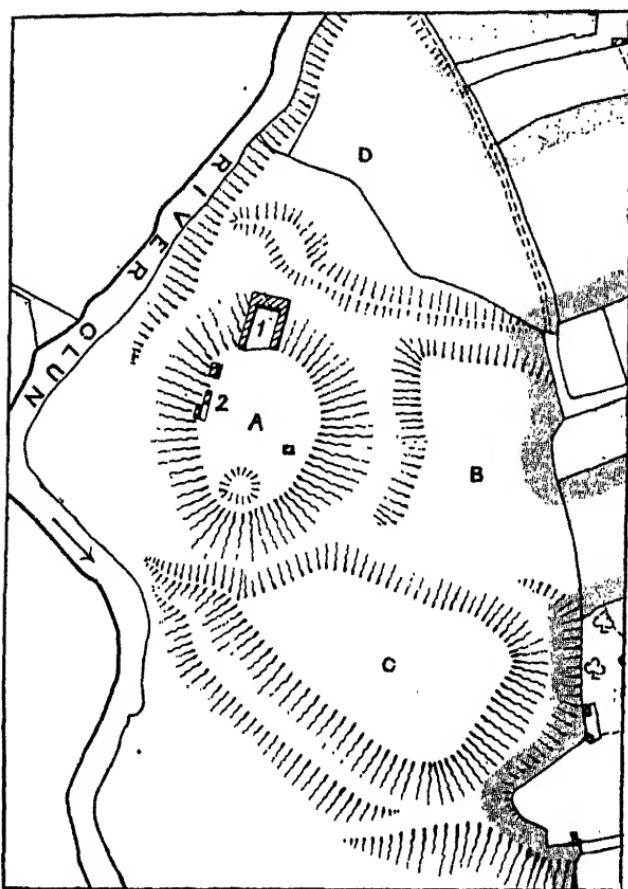
Here at Clun the keep projects from the mound to the north-east, but it will be convenient to speak of its outer side as north. It measures 68 feet north and south by 42 feet east and west, and it is about 80 feet high. The two outer corners are each covered by pilasters which unite at the angle and are carried up to the summit without a break ; on the second and third floors they form the outer walls of two small rooms. The whole of the south wall of the keep has gone, so that the interior can be surveyed from the top of the mound. From the exterior it will be seen that the north wall of the tower has a battering base, and one small window in each of the three upper floors ; these floors have also two windows on each side, looking east and west, those of the two upper floors being the larger. The angle chambers have also a small window on each outer face.

The basement has a small window to the east, and a small square hole at the northern end of the west wall. In the middle of this side is a doorway opening from the slope of the mound into a passage through the wall, on the north side of which a straight mural staircase leads up to the first floor. The level of the first floor was about 5 feet below the summit of the mound, from which it was probably entered by a door.

Like the second floor it has a fireplace with a rounded back between the two west windows. On the third floor the fireplace is between the two east windows. The second floor was, as usual in a square keep, the hall or chief living room. The angle chambers in this and the floor above are entered by mural passages opening from the jambs of the north window. The staircase leading from the first floor upwards was perhaps in the vanished south wall.

What other buildings there were on the mound it is now impossible to say, though perhaps excavation might throw some light on the subject. A castle inhabited by the lord or his deputy soon outgrew the accommodation afforded by the keep, which however remained as a refuge into which he could retire in case of necessity. We may therefore take it for granted that as the thirteenth century advanced the FitzAlans had their hall, chapel, kitchen, and other domestic offices within the bailey, but the only fragments of masonry remaining are on the west and south sides, the one on the west having two solid bastions at either extremity, with the convex sides outwards.

Apart from the mound there are two outer baileys, each occupying the summit of a raised platform, to the east and south-east. The latter was defended by a breastwork, of which about half remains. It is connected with the mound and with the other platform by causeways. The ditch on the outer side of the eastern platform has been destroyed. Beyond the keep to the north a bank now mutilated has been thrown up on the counterscarp of the ditch. The whole position was thus a very strong one, situated as it is on the top of the bank of the river, which surrounds it on two sides, while the other sides were protected by formidable ditches.



CLUN

- A.—INNER BAILEY
- B.—EASTERN BAILEY
- C.—SOUTH-EASTERN BAILEY
- D.—POOL
- E.—KEEP
- 2.—BASTIONS

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In Domesday Clun is entered as held by Robert de Say, surnamed Picot, under Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury ; and this Picot was probably the first to place a castle here. His great-granddaughter Isabel de Say married William FitzAlan, and he or his son, another William, may have built the keep in the latter half of the twelfth century. The younger William's second son John married the heiress of Arundel, Isabel de Albini, and their son became Earl of Arundel in 1243. Thus the castles of Clun and Arundel were united in the same family, and so remained down to the attainder of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, in 1590. James I gave Clun to his favourite, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and uncle of the attainted Philip. It was this Henry who founded the hospital for old men in the town, and another for old women at Castle Rising. From him Clun passed to his nephew Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, but it is now again united with Arundel in the person of the present Duke of Norfolk.

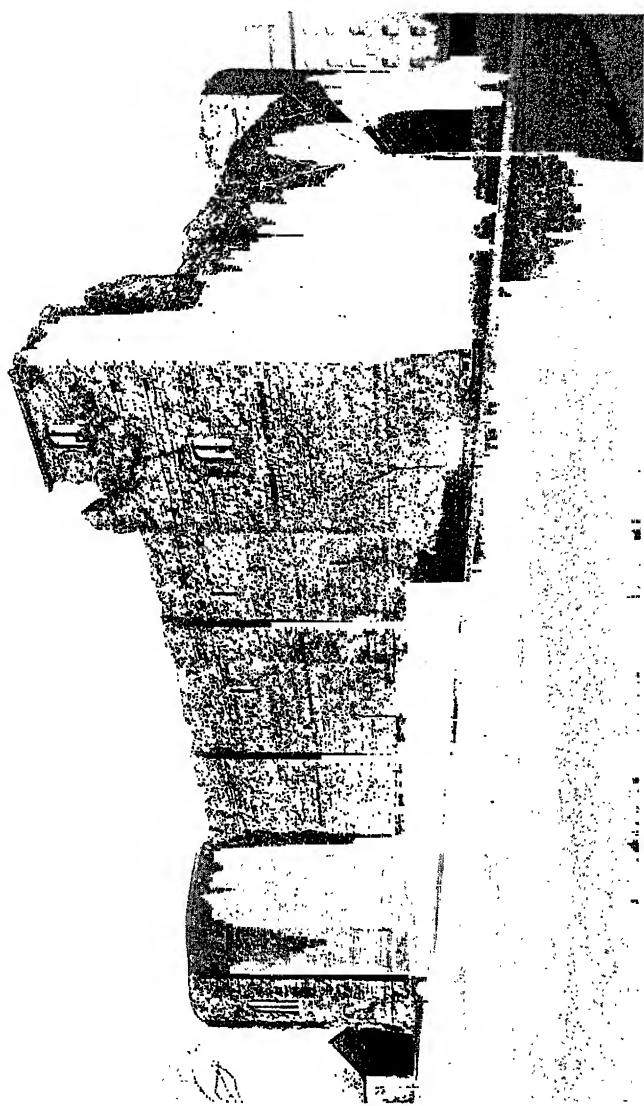
Historical notices of the castle are scarce. Towards the end of the twelfth century it was stormed and burnt by the Welsh after a long siege, but this can by no means be the only time that it was attacked by these hardy mountaineers. On the death of John, the second of the FitzAlan earls, in 1272, a long minority followed, and an extent or valuation of the barony was taken before three commissioners and twelve jurors. The castle, said the jurors, was small but pretty well built. The roof of the tower wanted covering with lead, and the bridge wanted repairing. The buildings in the outer bailey, viz. a grange, a stable, and a bake-house, were in a weak state. In 1302, on the death of the next earl, an *Inquisitio post mortem* found that the

castle was worth no more than the expenses of its maintenance, which would be upwards of £20 per annum.¹ By Leland's time, 1539, the castle was more or less of a ruin—"somewhat ruinous."

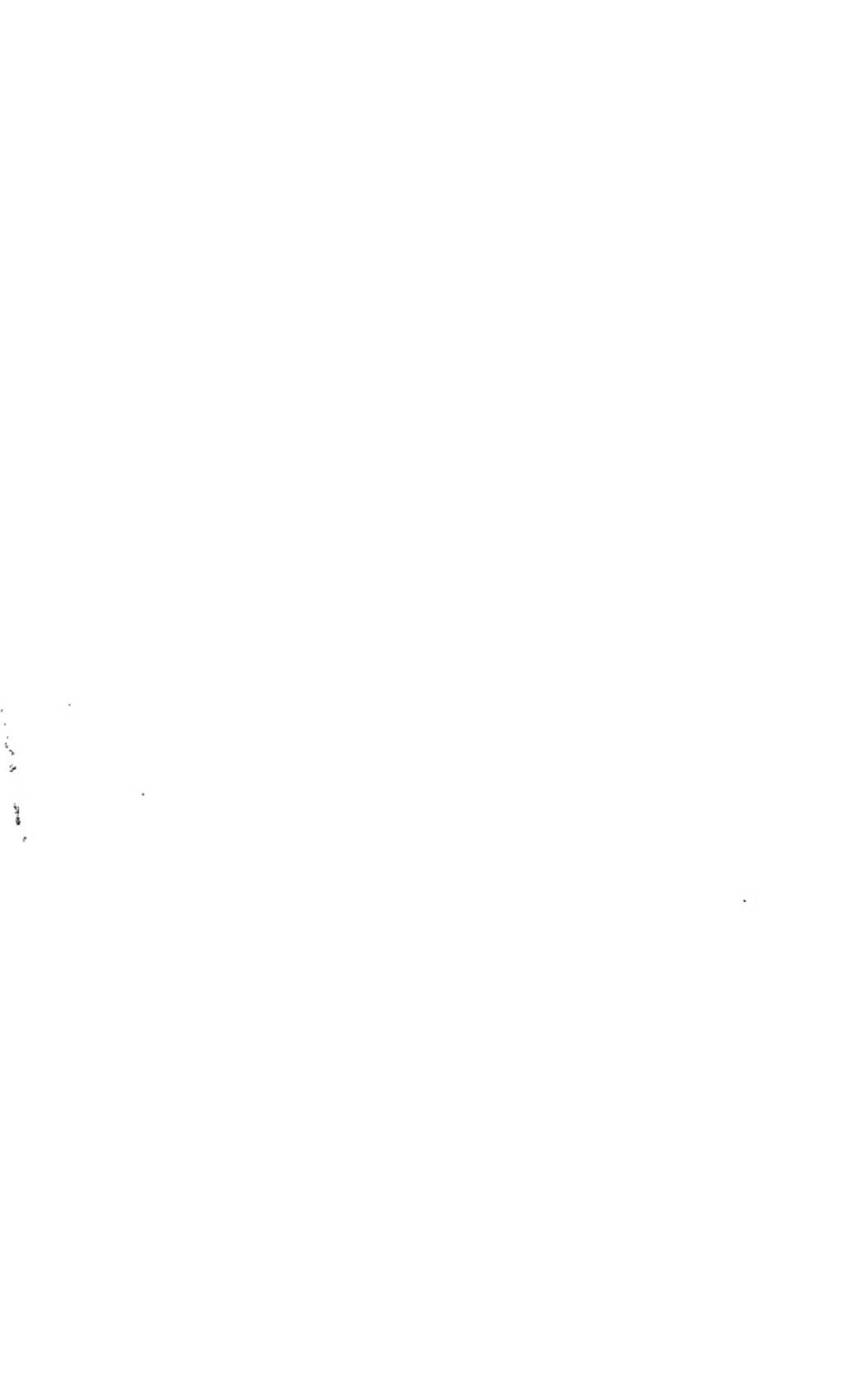
There is a local belief that the castle is the original of the Garde Douloureuse of *The Betrothed*, and that the author visited the place and stayed at the Buffalo's Head Inn. Authentic history, however, does not confirm this tradition. Sir Walter's only known visit to Wales or the borders was on his return from his Irish excursion in August 1825, and in the previous June *The Betrothed* had already been published. Moreover Lockhart says that it was "the lively and instructing conversation on Welsh history and antiquities of his friend Archdeacon Williams," at one time vicar of Lampeter, that led Scott to undertake this romance.²

¹ Eyton's *Shropshire*, vol. xi. pp. 232, 233.

² *Life of Scott*, ed. 1839, vol. vii. p. 384.



COLCHESTER FROM THE NORTH-EAST



CHAPTER IX

COLCHESTER

WE have already seen at Pevensey a Norman castle occupying one corner of a Roman settlement. We find it again at Colchester. The Roman colony of Camulodunum was founded on the south bank of the Colne, at the point where it makes a bend southwards, thus covering the town on the north and east sides. The greater part of the Roman walls is still standing, and in their north-east angle was the forum, itself enclosed on three sides by a wall of its own, but apparently open on the fourth or south side. It was this spot which was selected by the Conqueror or his architect for his castle. It seems probable that the method adopted by the builders was this: such buildings as remained in the forum were pulled down and the enclosure walls stripped of their casings. The material thus accumulated was then supplemented by ragstone (*septaria*) brought from the coast, and by a limited quantity of hewn stone from elsewhere, as well as by new tiles made on the Roman pattern, and the whole employed in the erection of the great tower. Besides this the cores of the enclosure walls were covered with earth, thus forming an embankment surrounding a ward or bailey on every side but the south, where a gorge was left, a short distance within which was the

strongly fortified south side of the keep. At this time, as we shall see, there was no entrance to the keep on this side. Modern excavations have brought to light portions of the Roman wall inside the embankment, as well as the arched exit of a culvert which ran westwards beneath it. The next step would be to close the mouth of the gorge by a wall, which would be furnished with a gatehouse and bastions, thus completing the circuit of the inner ward, and then to open the present entrance to the keep in its south face. Later still this inner ward seems to have been enclosed by an outer ward, stretching on the north to the Roman town wall and on the south nearly to the line of the present High Street.¹

All these later works have, however, disappeared, and the only remains of the castle are the earthworks and the two lower stages of the keep. This keep is the largest in England, measuring as it does $152\frac{1}{2}$ \times $111\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Next to it come London, 116×96 ; Norwich, 110×93 ; and Chepstow, 105×42 . It is, moreover, one of the three stone castles built before the year 1100, the other two being London and Exeter. At Exeter there is no evidence of a rectangular keep; Colchester may therefore be compared with the nearly contemporaneous keep of London, commonly called the White Tower. This was built in 1070, and when, a dozen years later, the Danish king Cnut was making preparations for a descent upon the east coast of our island, nothing is more natural than that the Conqueror should determine to build a strong tower at the head of the estuary of the Colne, just as he had already built one at the

¹ Traces of these outer fortifications may be seen in the siege plan of 1648, reproduced in Gardiner's *Civil War*, vol. iv. p. 152.

head of the estuary of the Thames. Further, the correspondence in the general plan of the two towers renders it likely that he secured the services of the same architect, namely Gundulph, the accomplished Bishop of Rochester. This resemblance between the two towers was first pointed out by Dr. J. H. Round;¹ the conclusions he deduced from the analogy are convincing and have since, as we shall see, been strikingly confirmed by a recent discovery.

We are now able to form a picture of this wonderful keep before the forces of destruction were let loose upon it. These were the same as those which, as we have seen, were set to work at Rochester² a little later, but more damage was done here before they were stopped. In 1683 the keep, already, as it seems, a roofless shell—for it had not escaped the injuries of time and neglect, its worst enemies hitherto—was bought by a certain John Wheely, whose intention was to pull it down for the value of the materials. Exactly how much of the upper part of the structure had already crumbled away, and how much more he pulled down, it is impossible to say, but from the solidity of the two remaining stages it is probable that Wheely was responsible for the greater part of the destruction, and it is a fact that when he had reduced the walls to their present level, nothing but the unremunerative nature of his vast undertaking prevented him from destroying the rest. In 1704 he got rid of the mutilated remains, and in 1727 they passed into the hands of a zealous antiquary, Charles Gray, who represented Colchester in five Parliaments and died in 1782. It

¹ To Dr. Round's *History of Colchester Castle*, published anonymously in 1882, this chapter is much indebted.

² See p. 102.

was he who roofed-in the block of buildings on the south side of the keep, carried up the great staircase, and built the dome on the south-west tower, as well as the square chamber on the north-east tower.

A glance at the exterior will show that there are square turrets at three of the angles, and at the fourth, that at the south-east, a semi-circular projection eastwards with a rectangular projection southwards. This semi-circular projection or apse, it may be noted, occurs in the same position at the White Tower. The walls rise from a wide battering plinth originally cased with ashlar, and are composed of ragstone relieved by courses of tile here and there set on edge. The quoins for some distance upwards are of ashlar. With one exception, to be noticed presently, all the original openings that remain are narrow loops. On the east and west sides are two flat buttresses, on the north side one; and on the south side, besides the projection already mentioned, there is a narrower one on the west side of the entrance.¹ The apse has four flat buttresses of the same character as those at the sides. That the lower stages should have loops only is in accordance with the rule universally observed in these buildings: the windows were reserved for the upper stages.

If the keep' was never higher than at present its area would be out of all proportion, but the elaborate scale on which the foundations are constructed is enough to show that they were designed to carry a much loftier structure. The walls are carried down 30 feet below the surface, spreading out laterally on both sides till at the bottom they have a width of 30 feet.

¹ The two northern turrets and the two southern projections are solid up to the first-floor level.

Besides this, another device was adopted to bear the weight of the superincumbent mass: four cavities were hollowed out in the interior and then filled in with sandy soil upon which a rude vaulting was constructed, and on this the interior cross-walls were built. The existence of these cavities was unsuspected till Wheely was engaged in his demolition, when it is said that a mass of masonry falling from above broke through a piece of the vaulting. The present stairs descending into the foundations were then made, and three of the cavities cleared out by carrying away the sand through an opening made in the north wall.

On these substantial foundations was built a tower consisting, if we may argue from the analogy of the White Tower, of four stages—a basement and three floors. The White Tower is divided into a western and eastern chamber by a wall running north and south, and the south end of the eastern portion is cut off by a wall from east to west to form St. John's chapel and its crypts. At Colchester the arrangements are similar, but here the space from east to west is so wide that two cross-walls had to be built instead of one. Had there been one only, it would have been impossible to find joists long enough for the floors of at least one of the divisions. As it is, there are three divisions, a large western, a small eastern, and a narrower space between them. The eastern cross-wall remains, but the western is gone, though its abutment on the south may be traced.

It will be remembered that the southern front of the keep was originally its most exposed side; its centre therefore consists of an enormous mass of masonry against which the two cross-walls abut, having in its centre at the basement level an oblong dungeon

entered from the passage between them. To the east of this mass is the under-crypt of the chapel, at one time used as the county gaol,¹ and to the west of it a dark chamber containing the well.² This chamber, and through it the whole of the basement stage of the tower, could only be reached by the main staircase contained in the south-western turret which ascended right up to the battlements. In the west end of its south wall the main entrance was broken through in the twelfth century, and a niche on the east side of the new entrance was produced into a loop. In the north wall of the chamber a doorway led into the large western division of the basement, from which doors near the northern ends of the cross-walls led into the other divisions. Thus in order to reach the under-crypt of the chapel it was necessary to descend the vice into the well chamber, and pass thence through the three divisions of the basement. The eastern and western divisions had each three loops in its external side wall, and all three had one loop in the north wall. All these loops are of one pattern, namely a large round-headed, flat-sided recess, and within this a round-headed set-off or reveal splayed to a loop 6 inches wide. As usual in Norman keeps, these basement chambers were used for stores.

The first floor contained the only entrance to the keep. This was by a passage through the west end of the north wall of the western chamber, exactly opposite to the lobby in the south wall leading to the main staircase, and closed at either end by a door. The outer door opened on to a landing on the eastern face of the north-west

¹ 1734-1834.

² This well was cleared out and repaired in the eighteenth century by Charles Gray.

turret, reached at first perhaps by a movable ladder and afterwards by steps built against the face of the north wall. This was, in fact, the position covered in later Norman keeps by a forebuilding. Like the basement, this floor had three divisions, with doors of communication over the lower doors. The herringbone work of the remaining cross-wall is excellent. The central and eastern divisions had each one loop in the north wall ; the western had two. The eastern and western divisions had each two fireplaces, as well as loops, in its external side wall, round-headed and round-backed, set with tiles worked in the herringbone fashion. The flues are forked, as at Rochester, and open in the face of the wall, one on either side of the buttress. Between the fireplaces in the eastern division is a mural garderobe, and as this is approached by two doorways, Clark suggested that this chamber was divided by a wooden partition into two, with a fireplace in each and the garderobe common to both.¹

On the left of the mural entrance passage is a doorway opening upon a lobby leading to the vice in the north-west turret, which starts here and ascended to the upper stages of the keep. Through the north wall of this lobby a long narrow mural garderobe is reached, with a loop at its eastern extremity commanding the external staircase ; at the other end, by the seat, is a recess for a light. The north-east turret contains a small vaulted room entered from the eastern chamber, and lighted by one loop to the north and two to the east.

The rooms on the south side of this floor, over the well chamber, dungeon, and under-crypt, are now used as a library and museum, but originally consisted of a

¹ *M.M.A.* i. 427.

dimly lighted chamber, 54 feet by 26, to the west, and of the equally dimly lighted crypt of the chapel to the east. In the west wall of the former were two doorways, one opening from the main staircase, and one from a small chamber now used as a record room, lighted by loops to the north and west, each with a drain beneath them. In the north wall were three arches opening into the large western chamber of the first floor, through the westernmost of which it was entered, and in the south wall were four recesses. Dr. Round pointed out that the number of mural recesses in this part of the keep was due to a desire to economise materials. In the north-eastern corner was a door communicating with the central division of this floor, and another with the chapel crypt. The crypt was lighted by three loops in the apse, while the nave had two recesses on each side, those to the south being prolonged into loops.

A walk has been contrived along the top of the walls on the west and north sides, protected on the inner side by a low, modern parapet. In the north-west corner a turret room¹ belonging to the second floor remains, and immediately south of it is the jamb of one of the windows which lighted this stage. But our ideas of this stage and the one above it must be based upon what we find in the sister tower at London. Above the crypt at the second-floor level was the chapel itself, rising to the roof, its upper part or triforium ranging with the third floor, or fourth stage of the keep. It was a remark-

¹ This room was assigned to James Parnel, a young Quaker who was confined in the castle during the persecution of that sect by the Independents under the Commonwealth. He was cruelly treated by his gaolers, and was so weak that one day he fell from the ladder by which he was ascending from the ground to his quarters. He was carried into the passage at the foot of the vice leading to his room, where he died

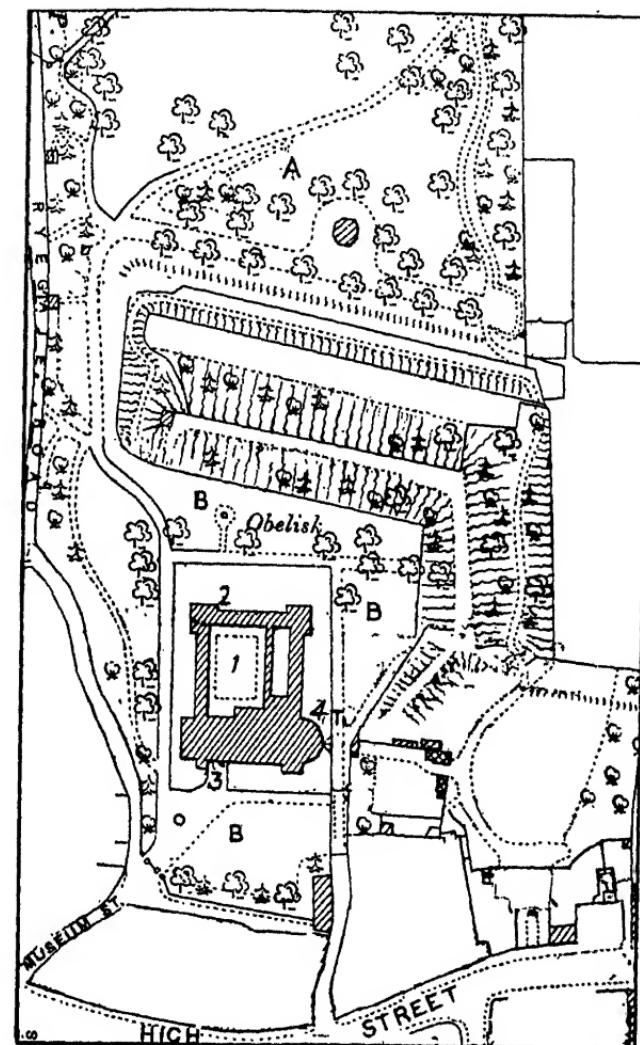
able confirmation of Dr. Round's theory when, about ten years ago, the bases of the columns of the chapel arcades were discovered *in situ* above the roof of the crypt. It must closely have resembled the beautiful chapel of St. John in the White Tower.

If the third floor was arranged on the same plan as that of the White Tower, its exterior walls were threaded by a mural gallery, one end of which opened into the south aisle of the chapel triforium, and the other end into the north aisle near the apse. It must also have communicated with the stairs in the two western turrets, and also with a third in the north-east turret, if such a one existed, rising from the second to the third floors. On each of the two upper floors there would have been two main rooms divided by a wide corridor as in the floors below. The roof was probably contrived in three ridges, one for each division, running east and west.

Such was the keep in its original state. It was doubtless in the twelfth century that the next operations were undertaken. The erection of an outer curtain to the south made it safe to dispense with the original entrance to the north on the first floor, and to break a new one into the well chamber at the ground level. The thickness of the wall here was such that it allowed for a portcullis, and two doors with a warder's seat between them. The gateway is Norman, flanked by two shafts on either side, of which the capitals remain. The arch is of three orders, each consisting of a plain roll, and round the outer one is a dripstone with a chainlike pattern. In front of the doors the groove for the portcullis can be seen. Above the arch the masonry bears plain traces of the insertion. The gateway is now approached by

a slope, but was formerly reached by five or six steps. The screen on the right within the entrance is modern. On the left is the door of the vice, which is probably the largest in England: its diameter is 16 feet, while that at the White Tower is only 11 feet. On ascending the stairs to the first floor, the visitor will find the dark room above described entirely transformed. The greater part of it is cut off by two modern walls to form the library. Between the modern west wall of this library and the original wall a lobby is left, the niche remaining at the south end of which had been utilized by means of a slit in the floor for the working of the portcullis. At its north end a gallery to the right, its south side formed by the modern north wall of the library, leads to the museum which now occupies the chapel crypt. Two of the original niches in the south wall of the library have been made into windows, and the one between them into a fireplace. These alterations are part of Charles Gray's work.

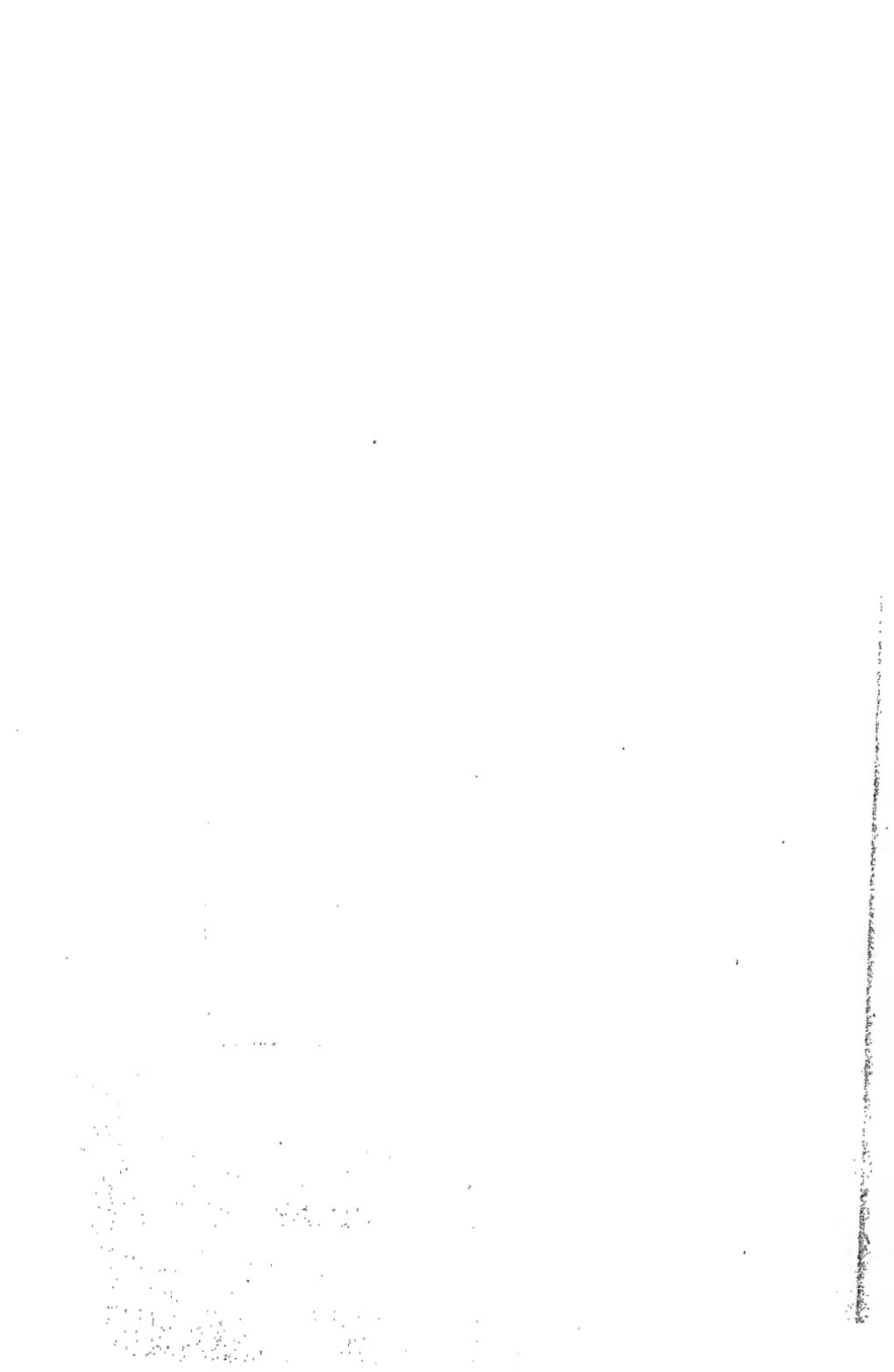
The military history of the castle belongs to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; after that time it became little more than a State prison. Being a royal castle, it was governed by a succession of constables down to 1661, since which date it has been in private hands. The first mention of it which has come down to us occurs in a charter of 1101, in which Henry I grants to Eudo the dapifer the city of Colchester, the tower and castle, and everything belonging to it. Eudo is thus the first constable. But the castle was certainly in existence before Eudo had anything to do with it, for the charter goes on to state that the King's father and brother had previously held it. He had, however, been connected



COLCHESTER

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—INNER WARD
- 1.—KEEP
- 2.—FIRST FLOOR ENTRANCE
- 3.—GROUND FLOOR ENTRANCE
- 4.—APSE OF CHAPEL

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with the town for a few years before he became constable of the castle: he had founded the abbey of St. John outside the walls to the south, of which the later gatehouse is all that remains. Eudo died in 1120, and his daughter Margaret was the mother of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, who played so changeable a part in the wars of Stephen's reign. About 1140 he was constable of the castle, and among his successors occur the names of Hubert de Burgh and Roger Bigod, the fourth Earl of Norfolk. The castle was never taken by storm; in the war between John and the barons it changed hands more than once, but always by surrender. Indeed the thickness of the walls and the solidity of the foundations could set at defiance all the engines of attack then in use. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the castle was more or less of a ruin, and the famous siege of 1648 belongs rather to the history of the town. But it was to the ancient dungeon of the castle that the three doomed Royalist leaders were taken after the capitulation, and it was hence that they were led to execution on the north side of the keep at the spot now marked by an obelisk. Sir Charles Lucas fell first, then Sir George Lisle; the third, Sir Bernard Gascoigne (Bernardo Guascoin, a native of Tuscany), was reprieved at the last moment.

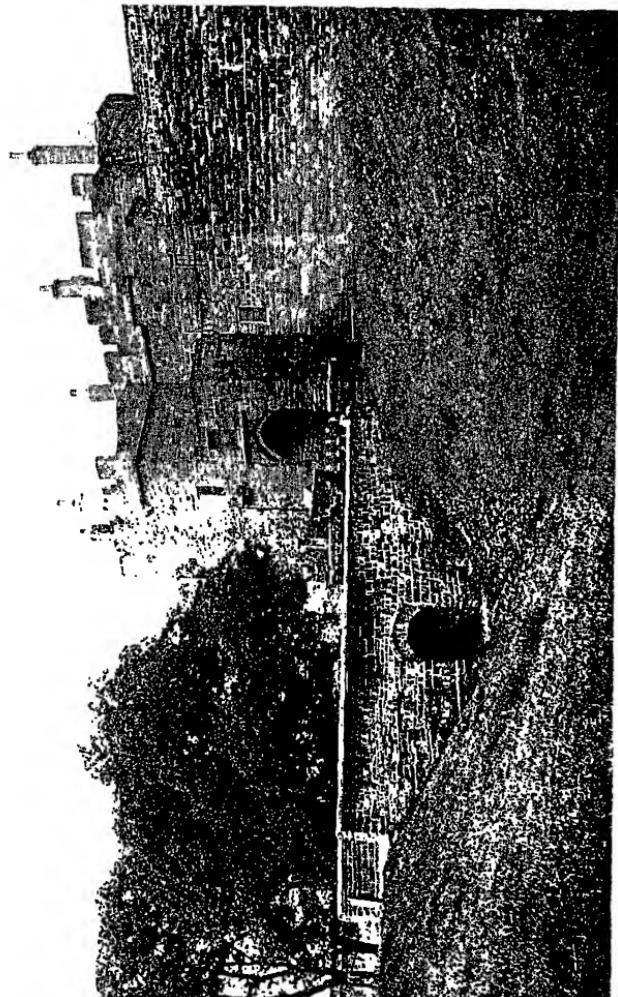
CHAPTER X

CARLISLE

FOR our purpose the history of Carlisle (the Roman *Lugubalia*, the Welsh *Caerlluel*) begins with its rebuilding by William II in 1092. In that year, says the Chronicle, "the King William with mickle fyrd went north to Carlisle, and the burgh set up again, and the castle reared, and Dolfin out drove that ere the land wielded, and the castle with his men set, and sith hither south went, and mickle many of churlish folk with wives and cattle thither sent to dwell in the land to till it." The work was continued by Henry I, but in the absence of records it is impossible to say how much of the present castle is due to its founder, and how much to his brother.¹ It has always remained a royal castle, and is to the southern end of the Border what Berwick is to the northern. Thus whether the Scot planned his inroad by the east-coast route or by the sands of the Solway, he had in either case a formidable fortress to account for.

The castle looks defiantly forth towards Scotland

¹ The keep was built by David, King of Scotland, in 1136 (Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v. 42). Mrs. Armitage (*Early Norman Castles*, pp. 123 and 365) notes that this passage was first pointed out by Mr. George Neilson in *Notes and Queries*, 8th Ser. viii. 321.



CARLISLE, OUTER GATEHOUSE

from a headland of the new red sandstone which rises some 50 or 60 feet above the river, and has steep slopes on every side but the south. The Eden flows past it on the north, on the west is the Caldew, and on the east at a greater distance the Petteril, both the latter streams joining the Eden from the south. That so advantageous a position was not neglected by the Romans would seem to follow from the fact that at Stanwix, on the right bank of the Eden opposite the castle, the line of the *vallum* which accompanies the Roman wall on its south side here crosses the river and makes a loop round the site of the castle so as to include it. Where it cuts the neck of the headland, however, it cannot now be traced, for its ditch has been filled up in modern times, but the city boundary serves to mark its course. The city was enclosed with walls, its shape a rough oblong, widest in the middle and pointed at either end, and at the northern extremity, outside the city proper, was the castle. The existing ditch in front of the south curtain of the castle is about 240 yards long, 30 broad, and 10 deep; at either end it is blocked by the city walls, which here join the castle. It was crossed by a drawbridge, replaced in the eighteenth century by the existing stone bridge. Between this ditch and the site of the Roman ditch (also formerly crossed by a drawbridge), is an open esplanade about 80 yards wide, now gravelled, but once laid out in gardens, and called the Castle Orchards; while a line of palisades on the inner side of the Roman ditch fenced it off from the city.

The area of the castle is nearly 3 acres in extent, and consists of an outer and inner ward, the latter covering about a fifth of the whole space en-

closed, and occupying its eastern end. The whole is now used as barracks and is much disfigured by modern buildings erected for the accommodation of troops and stores. The outer ward was formerly an expanse of grass fed by the garrison cattle, but now, like the esplanade, it is covered with gravel. Its curtain, except the gatehouse, the only interesting feature remaining, is best inspected from the castle walk which runs round the exterior on the east, north, and west sides. The outer is separated from the inner ward by a curtain 90 yards long, not straight but bow-shaped, with a gatehouse at its salient angle; the outer face of this curtain was protected by a ditch, now filled up, which was crossed by a drawbridge. In old plans of the castle a half-moon battery will be seen thrown up in front of the inner gatehouse, and connected by a rampart of some sort with the further end of the outer gatehouse. These defences were due to the introduction of artillery, and intended as an additional protection to the inner ward, supposing the enemy to have breached the north-western curtain. These works were removed in the last century and the ground levelled. The outer gatehouse is a rectangular building projecting from the curtain on both sides, with a piece cut out, in appearance that is, from its south-eastern corner. The open angle thus formed is shut in by walls about half the height of the rest of the building, and thus forms a kind of barbican 12 feet square inside. The allure on the summit of these two walks has a parapet on either side, the inner being provided with loops through which arrows might be fired upon the heads of an enemy attempting the inner gate below, and is connected by a corbelled passage with that of the curtain

to the east. The entrance archway of the barbican is sunk in a square-headed recess intended to receive the drawbridge when raised, and above it is a panel containing a coat of arms, possibly those of Richard, Duke of Gloucester (Richard III), who, when sheriff of Cumberland, was sometimes here and sometimes at Penrith. It will be noticed that the entrance passage, instead of being as usual in the middle of the gatehouse, is at its eastern side, and is provided with two gates besides that of the barbican, the passage between them being vaulted, and the outer one defended by a portcullis; there is one upper story. The building attached to its eastern side within the curtain is a later addition.

The inner gatehouse, partly Norman, partly Decorated, has a vaulted passage with a gate at either end—the inner one with a portcullis, the outer flanked by buttresses—and a floor above. In Henry VIII's time the inner side of the adjoining cross curtain was ramped with earth to form a platform for cannon, and at the same time another arch was added inside the original gateway to carry the rampart walk from one side to the other. Over the outside of the original inner gateway is a ring of tracery which Mr. Ferguson¹ says is exactly like one over the gateway of Lumley Castle. North of the gatehouse on the outer side is a large pointed archway, now walled up, which Clark² thought might have been the original gatehouse.

With the exception of the gatehouse and keep, the buildings of the inner ward are all modern. The curtain at the eastern angle has been rebuilt, but up

¹ *Guide to Carlisle*, p. 50.

² *M.M.A.* i. 353.

to 1835 a square tower stood here, called Queen Mary's tower from its having been occupied by the Queen of Scots during her two months' sojourn in the castle. Its basement contained the vaulted entrance passage of the original Norman gatehouse, which stood here, and was apparently incorporated with the range of Edwardian buildings of which this tower formed the southern extremity and which extended along the curtain to the north-west. Of these all that remains is some stone panelling said to have formed part of the staircase to the chapel. These buildings were pulled down between 1824 and 1835, and between Queen Mary's tower and the keep was an Elizabethan barrack, pulled down in 1812.

The great Norman keep,¹ though much altered and modernized, is still the predominant feature of the castle. It occupies the south-western part of the inner ward, and measures 66 feet north and south by 61 east and west, thus being nearly of the same proportions as the keep of Bamburgh. Its height, since the parapet has been removed and the top converted into a platform for guns, is only 68 feet. It has a basement and three floors divided north and south by the usual cross-wall. "There is the common high and stepped plinth, from which rise pilasters, 12 feet broad and 1 foot projection, two on each face, meeting at and covering each angle, which is solid. These pilasters are externally of much more modern masonry than the walls between them, and have been rebuilt or recased."² The present entrance is in the north end of the east wall, and on the left a stairway in the thickness of the wall leads to the first floor, and in

¹ The keep can only be inspected under the conduct of a guide.

² Ferguson, *u.s.* p. 54.

the north-west corner is a vice which probably led to the summit of the tower, but can now only be ascended as far as the second floor, its upper part having been converted into chimneys. The well of the keep (there is a larger one in the outer ward) has its pipe included in the north wall, with a well chamber opening into it on each floor, but when the keep was turned into a prison an opening was cut in the outside of the pipe near the ground level, which is still used for drawing up the water. A staircase, which Clark considers Edwardian, has been built against the north wall of the keep up to the battlements of the curtain, and the earth with which the adjacent curtain walls are ramped is kept off from the keep by a containing wall.

It has been already mentioned that the city walls joined the castle at either end of the south front; about 90 yards of them remain on the east, and more on the west side. On the south wall of the castle west of the gatehouse the flat Norman buttresses rising from the plinth may be seen, and the grey stones used here "correspond well in dimensions and shape with those used in the Roman Wall and other local Roman buildings and have evidently come from some Roman works."¹ East of the gatehouse the wall is Edwardian as far as the inner ward, and beyond that Norman till it joins the new work which replaced Queen Mary's tower. Just at the junction of the old and new work is a walled-up door which opened upon a walk running under the wall eastward from the gatehouse, known as the Lady's Walk. Over the door are the arms of the Dacre family, several of whom were governors of the castle.

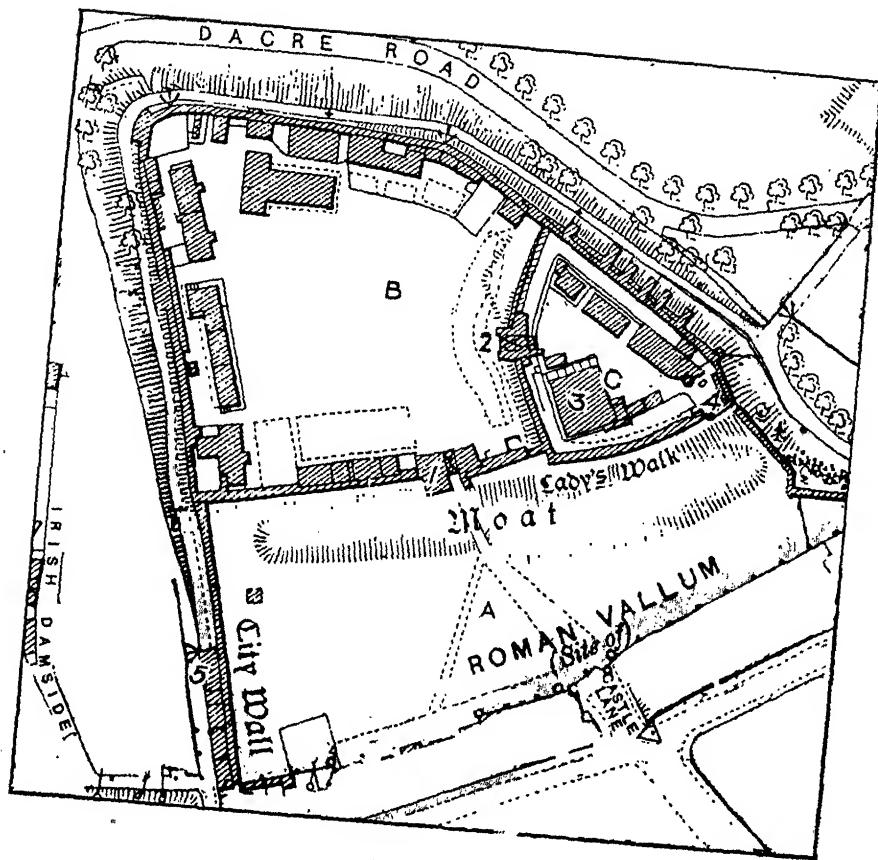
¹ Ferguson, *u.s.* p. 45.

Where the city wall crosses the ditch on the east there is a walled-up gateway, through which cattle could be driven from the meadows between the castle rock and the river on to the esplanade, and thence if necessary into the castle.

The outer walls of the castle, being built against the slope of the rock, are about 18 feet high inside, and 28 feet outside. A modern walk has been constructed round them, and if this is entered at the south-eastern end six large buttresses with sets-off will be seen supporting the north-east part of the wall, and covering the Norman pilasters behind them. In the old plans a spur wall is shown running down the slope on the north, and terminating in a small watch tower. This is now entirely gone ; it would facilitate a flank attack upon an enemy who attempted to scale the rock. At the north-west angle is a projecting bastion, used as a battery by the Jacobites in 1746, when the Duke of Cumberland returned its fire and made a large breach hard by. Near the centre of the west front is a small rectangular Norman tower, open at the gorge within : on its face is a pilaster dying into the wall at the base of the original parapet. South of this was a small postern, now built up, and about here another breach was made in 1746. The south-west angle is now reached,¹ and hence the city wall extends across the ditch southwards.

Projecting from the city wall, beyond the ditch is a rectangular tower, at present looking like a piece of a modern factory, 26 feet by 20, called from the bricks of

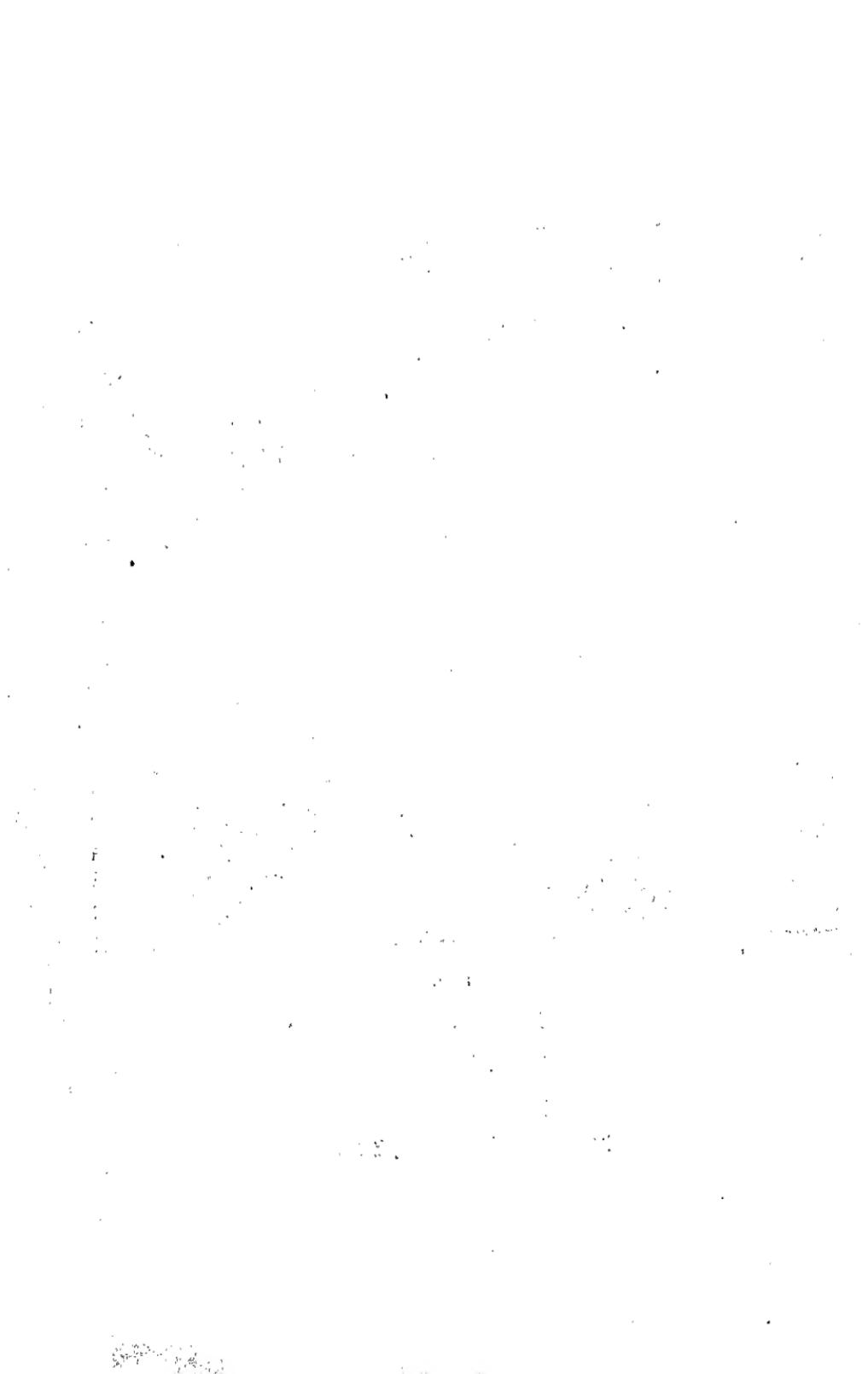
¹ "The south-west angle has all been renewed, and appears from the length of renewal to be the great gap of 70 feet which fell in Henry VIII's time. On it was in 1746 a four-gun battery, after used as the saluting battery." Ferguson, *u.s.* p. 45.



CARLISLE

- A.—ESPLANADE
- B.—OUTER WARD
- C.—INNER WARD
- 1.—OUTER GATEHOUSE
- 2.—INNER GATEHOUSE
- 3.—KEEP
- 4.—QUEEN MARY'S TOWER
- 5.—TILE TOWER

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which it is built the Tile tower. It has been raised upon an older stone plinth to the height of two storeys, and from the character of the mouldings in the interior has been attributed to Richard of Gloucester. Outside it was recased in that most fatal period of the castle's history, 1827-1835, but some of the old work is still visible on its north and south faces. The room in the upper story is now its most interesting feature: "the vaulted brick roof over it is a four-centred arch. The fireplace . . . is very curious; the bricks around it are moulded in the Tudor style, finished with a stop and chamfer: there is also much chamfered work in other places. A deep recess is on one side of the fireplace, and a small chamber on the other: on the west side are three arched recesses, and on the south a garderobe. The ornamental moulding of the brickwork seen here is very rare in the north."¹

By his expedition of 1092 and his rebuilding of the outpost William Rufus definitely decided that Carlisle and the surrounding district—for we do not hear of a county of Cumberland till 1177—should henceforth form a part of England and not of Scotland, and that the boundary between the two kingdoms should be fixed at the Solway. Henry I visited Carlisle in 1122 and added something to its defences, for he ordered it to be fortified "*castello et turribus*," whatever that may mean. A castle of some sort had already been founded by Rufus, and Henry's additions may therefore have consisted of the keep and other towers, whether in the castle or in the circuit of the city walls. From this time for the next five hundred years the place remained the great bulwark against the Scots on the

¹ Ferguson, u.s. p. 43.

western Border.¹ It was under the control of the sheriff, who when necessary summoned the *posse comitatus* to his aid, and the defence of the castle under the obligation of castle guard was undertaken by the great feudal tenants of the Crown. This system answered well enough as long as the Scots confined their attacks to the invasions of the regular army commanded by their kings, but when the War of Independence broke out at the end of the thirteenth century, they changed their tactics, and indiscriminate forays were made at any point along the Border by independent adventurers. The great landowners, therefore, finding themselves constantly exposed to sudden devastations, began to build castles and forts of their own, so that the whole country became studded with these inferior fortresses, and the relative importance of Carlisle declined. Indeed by 1385 its defences had been so much neglected that the citizens had to complain to the King on the subject.²

After Norman times the chief structural alterations in the castle were made by Edward I, Richard III (before his accession), and Henry VIII. Edward I paid his first visit to Carlisle in 1280, and his last in 1307, just before his death. The hall and chapel of the inner ward, now gone, as well as the gatehouses, may be his work. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who was warden of the west marches and sheriff of the county, is said to have repaired the castle, and built the Tile tower. The great buttresses outside the

¹ About the beginning of the fourteenth century for its better defence the Border was divided into three divisions, each with its own warden—the east marches in the north of Northumberland, the west marches on the Solway, and the middle marches, comprising the greater part of Northumberland, between the two.

² *Victoria County History of Cumberland*, vol. ii. p. 258,

curtain on the north-east may also be his. To Henry VIII are ascribed the alterations in the cross curtain, to enable it to carry guns, and the half-moon battery in front of the inner gatehouse may have been thrown up at the same time.

Mary, Queen of Scots, ostensibly as a voluntary guest, but really as a prisoner, was at the castle from May 17 to July 13, 1568. After her defeat at Langside she determined to put herself under the protection of Elizabeth. She crossed the Solway, landed at Workington, and was conducted to Carlisle, where she was lodged in the tower that afterwards bore her name. Here she addressed fruitless appeals to Elizabeth, requesting a personal interview, while she found recreation in watching the football matches played on the meads by the river, or in hunting the hare; but in the latter amusement she galloped so fast and was so near the Border that her guardians feared a rescue, and it was thought well to remove her to Yorkshire.

In 1596 Willie Armstrong, commonly called Kinmont Willie, and the hero of a ballad printed in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, a noted freebooter, was imprisoned in the castle. He had been seized, contrary to the accepted custom, after one of the "truce meetings" at which the officials of both sides of the Border met to settle points in dispute between them. Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch remonstrated in vain with the English authorities against this breach of the truce, and determined to rescue the prisoner at all hazards. Taking advantage of a dark, misty night, he brought a strong party across the Border, and effecting a small breach in the castle wall, broke open a postern, and carried off the prisoner in triumph. The Queen was naturally incensed with this insult offered to one of

her most important strongholds by "the bold Bucleuch," and next year he had to surrender himself to her commissioners at Berwick, and spend some months in England under surveillance. A family tradition relates that he was presented to Elizabeth, who demanded of him how he dared to undertake an enterprise so desperate and so presumptuous. "What is it," answered the chieftain, "that a man dares not do?" Struck by the boldness of the reply the Queen turned to her attendants with the words, "With ten thousand such men our brother of Scotland might shake the firmest throne in Europe."

But the most memorable siege endured by Carlisle in its later history was that of David Leslie and his Scots in the Civil War. Closely invested in the late autumn of 1644, the city held out for several months, and it was not till the inhabitants had endured the utmost privations and the defeat at Naseby had rendered further resistance useless that the gallant Sir Thomas Glemham surrendered.

On the renewal of hostilities in 1648 both Berwick and Carlisle were seized by the Royalists, and when the Duke of Hamilton invaded England in July both places received Scottish garrisons. In August, after defeating Hamilton in Lancashire, Cromwell marched northwards, and the surrender of the two places was only a question of time. The Scots marched out of Berwick on the last day of September, and a day or two later out of Carlisle. On October 14th Cromwell was at Carlisle in person and took over the castle. Thence he proceeded against Pontefract, as we shall see in a later chapter.

In the eighteenth century the walls of Carlisle were destined to be once more battered by artillery.

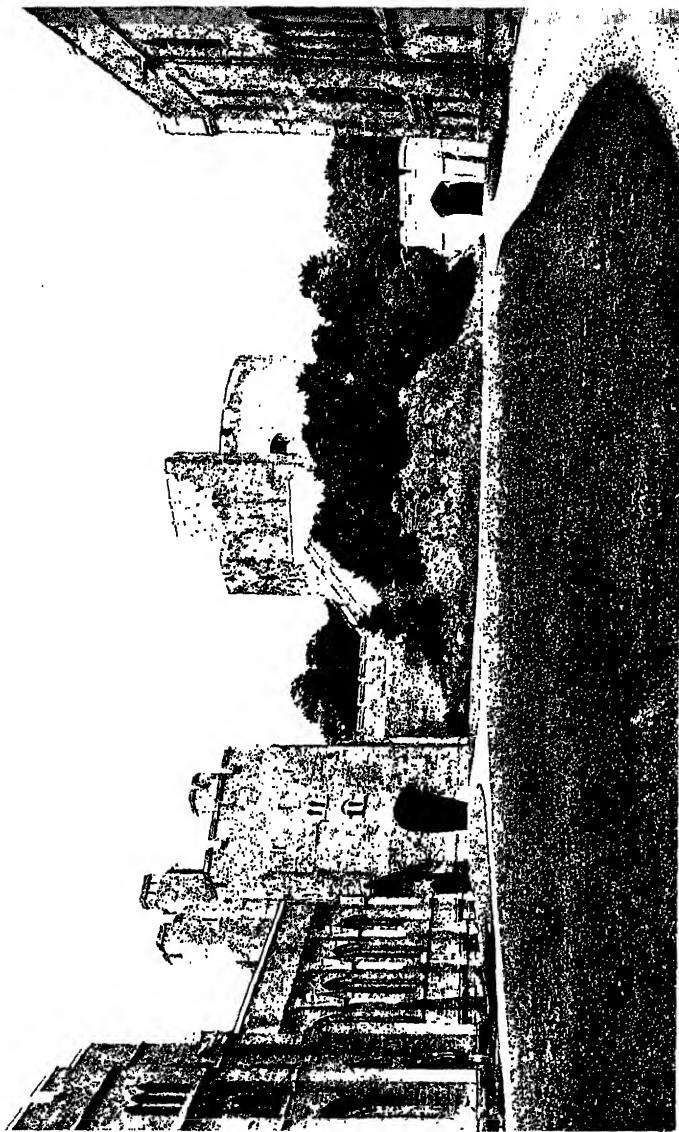
The Jacobite inroad of 1715 left the city unassailed, but in 1745, when the young Pretender and his Highlanders made their memorable dash across the Border as far as Derby, it surrendered after two days' siege to the Duke of Perth. Col. Durand commanded for the Government, but the county forces at his disposal were useless, and on November 17th the Pretender entered the city in triumph. A month later, on his retreat, he passed through Carlisle again, and leaving a garrison behind him hastened on into Scotland. The Duke of Cumberland was at his heels, and in a few days, to the surprise of the defenders, brought up some heavy guns from Whitehaven and opened fire. The defences were already in a poor condition, and the garrison surrendered on the best terms they could get—"that they should be reserved for his Majesty's pleasure." Thus Carlisle was left with the honour of being the last of English cities to sustain a siege.

CHAPTER XI

A R U N D E L

THE stately splendour of Arundel forms a striking contrast to the crumbling ruins of Pevensey, described in a previous chapter. Yet both castles were once of equal rank and importance. Each was the principal seat or *caput baroniae* of one of the six rapes into which the land of the South Saxons was longitudinally divided—the site of the one flat, and depending for its protection on the sea and on the adjacent marshes ; that of the other an elevated platform rising from the right bank of the river Arun, and defended on the east and south by the natural steepness of its sides, and on the north and west by artificial ditches. To the north-west a deep fosse cuts off the extremity of the platform from the rest of the high ground, and within this the castle is built, while still further inland, beyond the park, are other lines of entrenchment much older than the Norman castle, which may have been executed in prehistoric times to constitute a promontory fort. The Normans were ever ready to turn such sites to account, and here Roger of Montgomery, to whom the lordship had been granted by the Conqueror, threw up his mound and founded his castle.

The shape of this castle, though it may have had



ARUNDEL, KEEP AND GATEHOUSE

at first only one bailey or ward, was probably not very different from that of the present edifice. The curtain walls form an oblong 317 yards by 83, enclosing about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The long sides run north-west and south-east, and the mound is near the centre of the west side, thus dividing the area into a north and south ward; it does not, however, extend as far as the east curtain, and the intervening space was formerly cut by a ditch which separated the two wards. The west curtain is carried up the mound from the north and south, and its extremities are united with the wall of the keep, thus leaving one side of the mound outside the general enceinte. The domestic buildings are, and probably always were, built round the sides of the south or lower ward, the upper ward being used for pasturing the cattle required by the garrison.

The exterior gatehouses, by which the precincts are approached from the town, are modern. The main entrance to the castle itself crosses the ditch by a drawbridge to the south of the mound, and passes through an ancient double gatehouse into the lower ward. Of the Norman castle there still remain the keep, the lower part of the gatehouse next the ward, part of Bevis tower, and a portion of the basement on the south side of the ward. The three sides of this ward have been rebuilt by the present duke during the last twenty years, and the ancient parts of the castle have been put into thorough repair. The general character of the new work is that of the thirteenth century.

The keep is reached from what I have called the double gatehouse, really two gatehouses connected by a passage, and it will therefore be well to describe

this first. It should be premised that the mound is surrounded by a deep ditch, the western side of which forms part of the main ditch defending the western and northern sides of the *enceinte*. The inner gatehouse¹ projects into the ward from the curtain; it has a plain Norman doorway at either end without mouldings or side shafts, only a plain sloped abacus marking the spring of the arch. The outer doorway has a portcullis. The tower contains two floors; but its upper part was rebuilt at the end of the thirteenth century by Richard FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, at the same time that he built the outer gatehouse and the connecting passage. This passage is about 40 feet long by 10 feet broad, and is covered by a flattish vault; it terminates in an archway closed by a pair of very ancient doors, and set between two square towers, projecting one on either side of the draw-bridge. In each tower there are a room at the ground-level and two upper storeys, while below the ground-level and in the part rising from the ditch are dungeons, calling to mind those in the inner gatehouse at Alnwick. In the south wall of the passage a door opens on to a vice which leads to the first floor, and from thence the visitor passes on to the rampart of the wall which crosses the ditch, and then climbs the mound to the keep. The allure now becomes a straight flight of steps protected as before by the parapet on either side.

The mound, when raised by Roger of Montgomery, was doubtless fortified in the usual way with a palisade enclosing a wooden tower, and in the following century

¹ "The one Pipe Roll of Henry I which we possess shows that he spent £78 6s. 2d. on the castle in 1130, and possibly this refers to this gatehouse." Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, p. 100.

the present circular stone curtain took the place of the palisade, forming a shell keep resembling those at Farnham and Berkeley, but standing at the top of the mound and not enclosing it. The material is local stone and chalk, faced externally with small blocks of Caen stone, and strengthened with flat pilasters which terminate at the base of the parapet. The entrance was through a lofty circular archway to the south-east, deeply recessed, and enriched with chevron and other ornamentations. The lodgings, of which the roof corbels remain, were built round the curtain, and a later fireplace in the upper part of the wall, the back of which is formed of tiles set edgeways, shows that they had two storeys. In the centre of the enclosure is a vaulted cellar reached by a steep flight of steps. Near the original entrance is a vice leading to the ramparts; in each merlon is a loop set in an arched recess, and in one of them there has evidently been a garderobe.

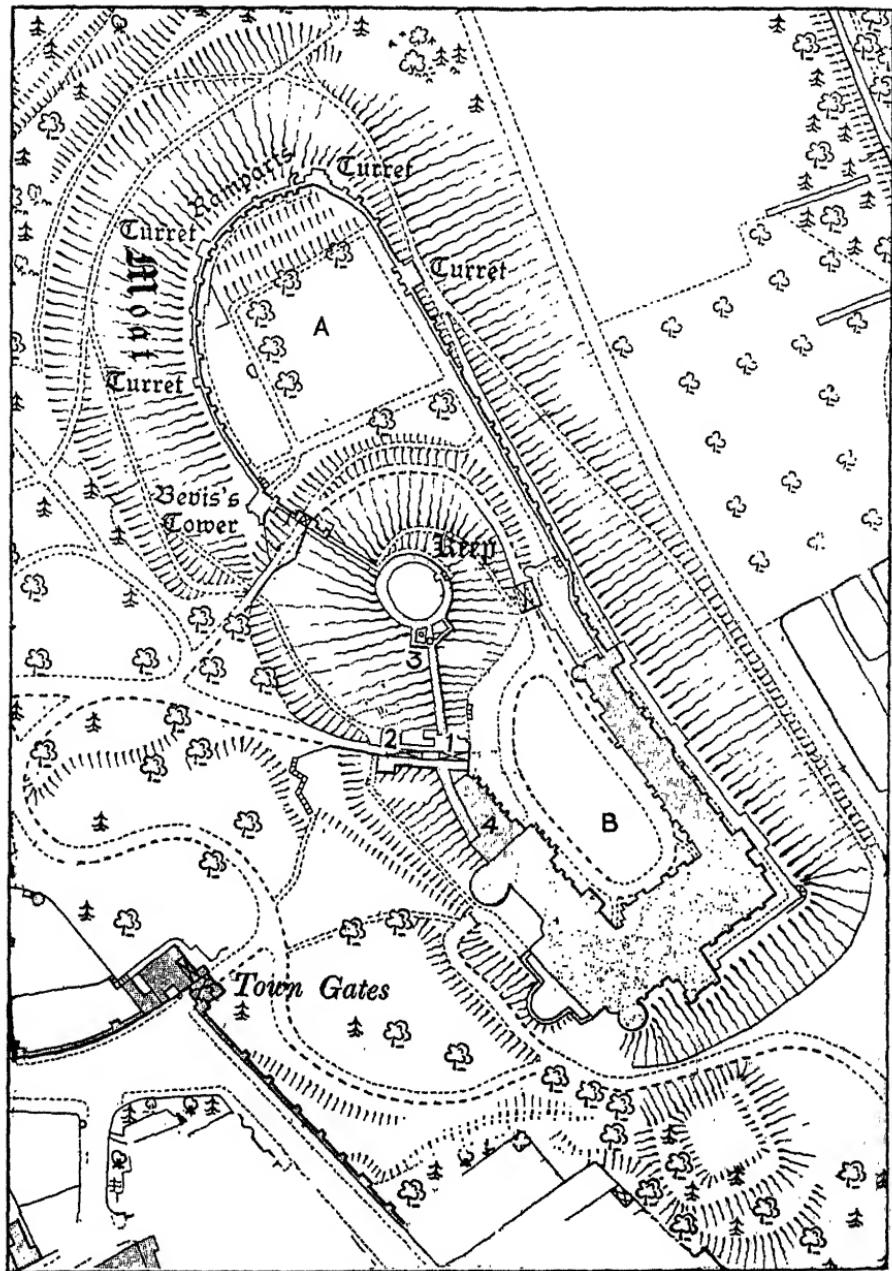
Such was the keep as it stood in the time of Henry II¹; but in the next century, when the FitzAlans came into possession, the existing towers were added to its south face. They are probably the work of the same Richard FitzAlan who made the additions to the gatehouse. The great Norman entrance was now built up, and the new entrance tower was built against it in such a way as to include a portion of the archway within it. This original entrance was perhaps regarded as opposing insufficient resistance to an enemy who had once scaled the mound,—whether it was approached by the

¹ The Pipe Rolls from 1170 onwards contain several entries of work done at the castle. Among the items specially mentioned are the King's chamber, the chapel, and the wall.

present stairway, in which case there must have been a gallery turning to the right at the summit and defended by a parapet, or by a straight flight of steps ascending from a bridge a little farther to the east. The new towers presented a far more formidable front, and had the further advantage of enclosing the well, which was outside the wall of the keep.

The well-tower is the smaller of the two, and is on the visitor's left on arriving at the top of the steps. It forms the western side of a kind of balcony or platform defended by a wall of moderate height, containing the archway through which the steps pass, and furnished with two long loops splayed outwards at the bottom for the purpose of shooting down the slope. The keep entrance is in the larger tower near the angle where the well-tower projects from it. Over the doorway is a narrow window with a loop to the east of it, and above is the large two-light window of St. Martin's chapel. The well-chamber has a loop to the south and a room over it. The upper part of these towers before the recent repairs was much dilapidated, but has now been roofed and carefully repaired. St. Martin's chapel is over the entrance passage, and the sacred office can now be said at the altar. The apparatus for lowering the portcullis to close the entrance passage has been put in working order, as has also that in the gatehouse below.

Of the towers on the northern portion of the enceinte the most famous is Bevis tower, part of which, as already stated, is of Norman date. It is square, with a projection outwards from the curtain, and stands on the counterscarp of the ditch to the north-west of the keep just where this part of the curtain climbs the mound. It gets its name from a



ARUNDEL

- A.—UPPER WARD
- B.—LOWER WARD
- 1.—INNER GATEHOUSE
- 2.—OUTER GATEHOUSE
- 3.—WELL TOWER
- 4.—CHAPEL



legend that Bevis of Hampton (was not his horse named "Arundel"?) occupied the post of warder here. "A mound in the park, at Pugh-dean, measuring 36 feet by 6, is said to cover his remains, the spot having been determined by the knight throwing his battle-axe from the keep, and desiring to be buried wherever it might fall."¹

The descent of the castle to its present possessor may now be briefly indicated. On the death of Roger of Montgomery in 1094 it passed first to his second son Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, and then to Hugh's elder brother Robert of Belesme, the supporter of Robert of Normandy, and the constant opponent of Henry I. On his submission in 1102 he was deprived of his English estates, and Arundel became a royal castle. Henry's widow, Adeliza of Louvain, brought it to her second husband, William de Albini,² a Norfolk noble, from whom the present Duke of Norfolk is lineally descended. Isabel de Albini, the great-granddaughter of William, brought Arundel to her husband, John FitzAlan of Clun, and in 1243³ their son became Earl of Arundel. For the next three hundred years the castle remained in the hands of this family, but at last, in 1580, on the death of the last FitzAlan without male issue, it came to Philip Howard, the son of his daughter Mary, who had married Thomas Howard, the fourth Duke of Norfolk.

The military history of the castle is not extensive. It has three times been besieged, in 1102, 1139, and 1643, but only on the last occasion did the fabric receive any serious damage. In 1102, Roger of

¹ Goodliffe, *Littlehampton, Arundel, and Amberley*, p. 77.

² Not to be confused with William de Albini of Belvoir, p. 111.

³ See p. 117.

Montgomery's wooden fortress was blockaded by Henry I, as being one of the strongholds of his enemy Robert of Belesme. He brought up two wooden towers to annoy the garrison, which proved so effective that they obtained a cessation of hostilities in order to send to their lord in Shropshire to ask his leave to surrender if he could not send them assistance. In due course the permission arrived, and the place was joyfully delivered to the King. In the autumn of 1139 the Empress Matilda landed at Arundel, and was hospitably received by her step-mother into the castle. The stone keep, curtain, and Norman gatehouse had doubtless now been built; indeed tradition says that the Empress had her lodgings in the latter. King Stephen proceeded to lay siege to the castle, but for some reason not satisfactorily explained he did not press the blockade, and Matilda was allowed to depart and join her half-brother, the Earl of Gloucester, at Bristol. According to one account, the King was told by treacherous advisers that the castle was impregnable, and that by suffering the Empress to escape he would shut up the forces of his opponents in one corner of the kingdom.

To pass to the seventeenth century, when the Civil War broke out the Earl of Arundel, Thomas Howard, who had presided as High Steward at the trial of Strafford, was absent from England,¹ and Arundel like the rest of Sussex was occupied by the Parliamentarians. On December 9th, 1643, it was surrendered to the successful Royalist general, Lord Hopton, and Sir Edward Ford, the sheriff of the county, was left in charge, but it did not long remain in Royalist hands. On the 19th it was invested by Sir William Waller,

¹ He was the collector of the Arundel Marbles now at Oxford.

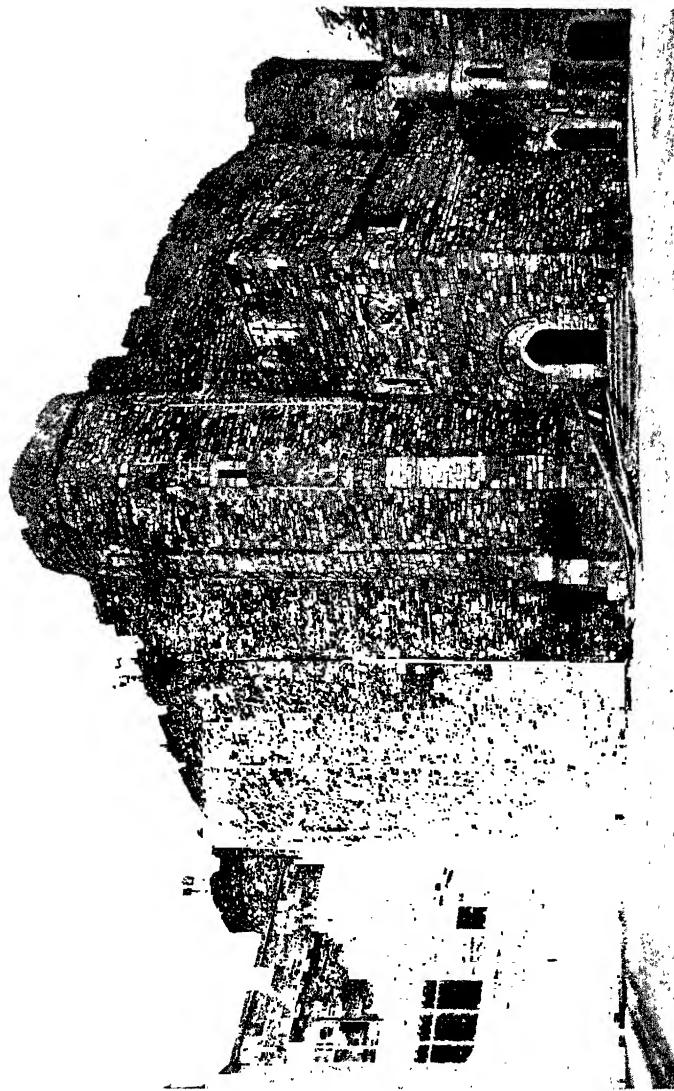
who had already got possession of Farnham. Two sakers (small cannon) were planted on the top of the church tower, which together with the fire of the musketeers inflicted considerable damage on the defences, and on January 6th the half-starved garrison was compelled to capitulate. By this time the keep had been reduced to ruins, the western side of the inhabited portion of the castle utterly shattered, and the rest severely injured. Upwards of one thousand prisoners were taken, among them being William Chillingworth, the author of *The Religion of Protestants*, who four months previously had been present in the royal camp before Gloucester, where he, "after attempting by day to turn his knowledge to account by suggesting a mode of directing the siege works after the fashion of the ancient Romans, found relief by night in disputing with Falkland on religious subjects in a smoky hut."¹ At Arundel too he had more to say on Roman engineering than was acceptable to the soldiers, but though now only forty-two, the privations of the siege added to the severity of the winter had proved too much for his constitution to withstand, and, too ill to be removed to London with the other prisoners, he was taken to Chichester, where he soon afterwards died. One of the Presbyterian ministers who had obtained leave to take charge of him, though he treated him with kindness, tried in vain to make him abjure his opinions, and appearing at the funeral in the cathedral cloisters he flung the *Religion of Protestants* into the open grave.

As has been said, the castle was pretty well reduced to ruins by the bombardment of 1643-1644; it then ceased to be the residence of the family, and it was

¹ Gardiner, *Civil War*, i. 205.

not till after some eighty years that any attempts at restoration were made. The damaged portions included the thirteenth-century chapel of St. George and the fourteenth-century hall on the west side of the ward, as well as the Tudor buildings on the east side. About 1720 the eighth duke erected a frontage of brick to the range on the west side, and made some of the rooms habitable, but it was reserved for the eleventh duke (1786-1815) to execute the first thorough restoration in the spurious Gothic style of the day. The entrance porch to the hall, which had survived even the brick structure of 1720, and the remains of the Chapel of St. George were now removed. The keep and gatehouses were fortunately left untouched. This Georgian work has now been replaced by the rebuilding already noticed, which includes a most beautiful chapel in the Early English style, the successor of the destroyed Chapel of St. George, and a magnificent hall.

After so much destruction and desolation elsewhere it is refreshing to find a castle the ancient parts of which have been so carefully preserved and so faithfully repaired.



BERKELEY, KEEP

CHAPTER XII

BERKELEY

ON one of the low hills that lie between the escarpment of the Cotswolds and the estuary of the Severn, and some 50 feet above the wide-spreading meadows at its foot, stands the castle of Berkeley—a castle which, save for a period of sixty-one years (1492-1553), has since 1154 been in the possession of the family by which it is still inhabited. The large park with its fine avenue of elms, which stretched south-eastwards from the castle, is now ordinary pasture land, but to the south-west, separated from the castle by the Little Avon and the village of Ham, is an extensive deer park containing a modern tower inhabited by the keeper.

Three miles north-west of the castle is the promontory or ness of Sharpness, and "in Ness," says Domesday, "there are five hides belonging to Berkeley, which earl William put out to make a small castle." Now there is no trace of a castle, small or big, nearer to the ness than Berkeley, and we may therefore understand the entry as referring to a *castellulum* on the present site. "Earl William" was William FitzOsbern, to whom the manor had been granted by the Conqueror, and the passage means that he removed the geldability of the five hides and appro-

away, but their foundations have often been exposed in the course of making excavations for drainage. To the south-east is the building pierced by the entrance passage to the inner ward, at the further end of which can still be seen the grooves of a portcullis by which it was defended. Opposite this gateway is the hall, and to the left of it the kitchen and other offices which complete the circuit of the inner ward, nearly the whole of the western side being formed by the keep.

The keep, which is nearly circular, with an internal diameter of about 45 yards, resembles those of Arundel and Farnham. It is built of rubble masonry, and on the south-eastern half of its circumference are three projecting round turrets, which may originally have been open at the gorge or perhaps closed with timber. On the north side there was perhaps another of these turrets, but if so, it has been replaced by a rectangular tower of oblong shape known as the Thorpe¹ tower. The outside of the keep is strengthened on its exposed side by nine slender buttresses, three towards the outer ward, and six towards the inner ward between the gateway and the forebuilding. A shell keep is not usually provided with one of these appendages, and in England at any rate Berkeley is singular in this respect. Usually, as at Farnham and at Arundel, the steps ascend the mound directly without any other protection than side walls. Here, however, after the fashion prevalent in the square keep,² they are carried up along the side of the main building through one of

¹ From a family of that name who held Wanswell Court, a mile and a half to the north of the castle, by the tenure of castleguard. According to Smyth this tower was ruined in 1341-1342, and was then rebuilt by Thomas the third. *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i. p. 309.

² Compare Corfe, Rochester, and Castle Rising.

these subsidiary structures, which resembles that at Castle Rising in being furnished with a lower gate set in a small tower, and a middle gate, the marks of which remain in the walls. There is here however no third gate at the summit of the stairs opening into a vestibule, only a landing upon which the keep entrance opens directly. That the stairs were roofed is rendered probable by a weather moulding remaining on the south face of the projecting turret at their head. The lower gateway, which is approached by five steps, was round-headed, but it has been blocked to contain a small pointed door of later date. At the stair-head a wooden gallery on the right leads to a room in the tower over the stairs containing an ancient bed and hangings of crimson embroidered cloth. This was a guardroom and was once thought to have been the room in which Edward II was murdered. Possibly he may have been placed in it when first brought here as a prisoner.

The keep itself is entered through a vaulted passage in the wall opening by a Norman archway with closed tympanum and flat-headed doorway beneath. One of the ornamented side shafts remains. The inner gate is enriched with mouldings of the chevron pattern. Opposite the entrance is the breach in the curtain already noticed. Originally such buildings as the area contained were probably of wood, two storeys high, and were ranged round the curtain, leaving an open space in the centre. At the present day the southern part is filled with a block of buildings, much of which is of comparatively modern date, and which renders the two southern round towers invisible from this side. In the easternmost of these towers, entered through an ante-room, is the chamber in which—according to

Smyth¹—Edward II was murdered. It contains a dungeon 28 feet deep, reminding us of those at Alnwick and Arundel. The third round tower to the east is reached by a modern staircase; its basement contains a well, and its upper part an oratory dedicated to St. John the Baptist and now used as a muniment room. The Thorpe tower is ascended by a vice in its eastern end: its western end is the highest part of the castle, and now supports the flagstaff from which the family banner is displayed.

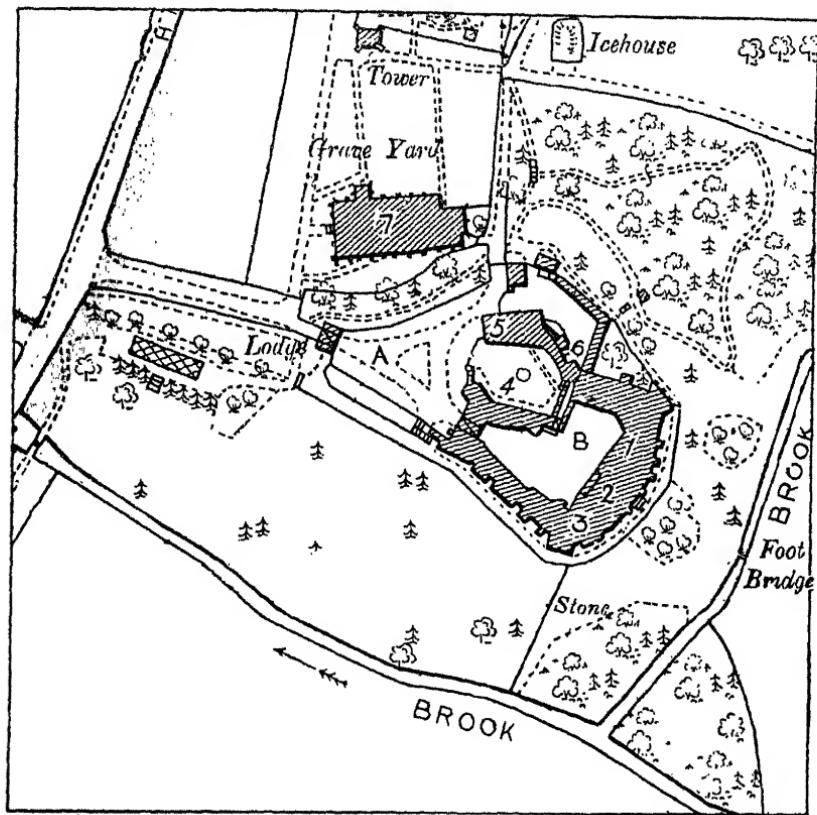
Clark's opinion as to the traces of Norman work remaining in the domestic buildings has been already noticed. He considered that most of the outer wall was of that date, and he even found traces of Norman masonry in the side facing the court, but perhaps the work of this period is to be seen most clearly in the cellar beneath the chapel, which shall be described in his own words:

"The *Cellar* below the chapel is part of the original castle. . . . It is in plan an equilateral triangle about 40 feet in the side. Its roof is vaulted and groined in three hexagonal bays, springing from three shafts of late Norman character. Nine triangular vaultings, abutting on the walls, complete this very curious roof."²

The door of the hall porch is set in one of those curious four-sided arches the presence of which over the Berkeley tombs in Bristol Cathedral has given it the name of the Berkeley arch. The square porch

¹ "Soone after [he had been handed over to the custody of Maltravers and Gurnay] the said late Kynge was shut up in a close chamber, where with the stynch of dead carcases laid in a cellar under him, he was miserably tormented many days together, and well nigh suffocated therewith, the paine being allmost intollerable unto him." *Life of the Berkeleys*, vol. i. p. 291.

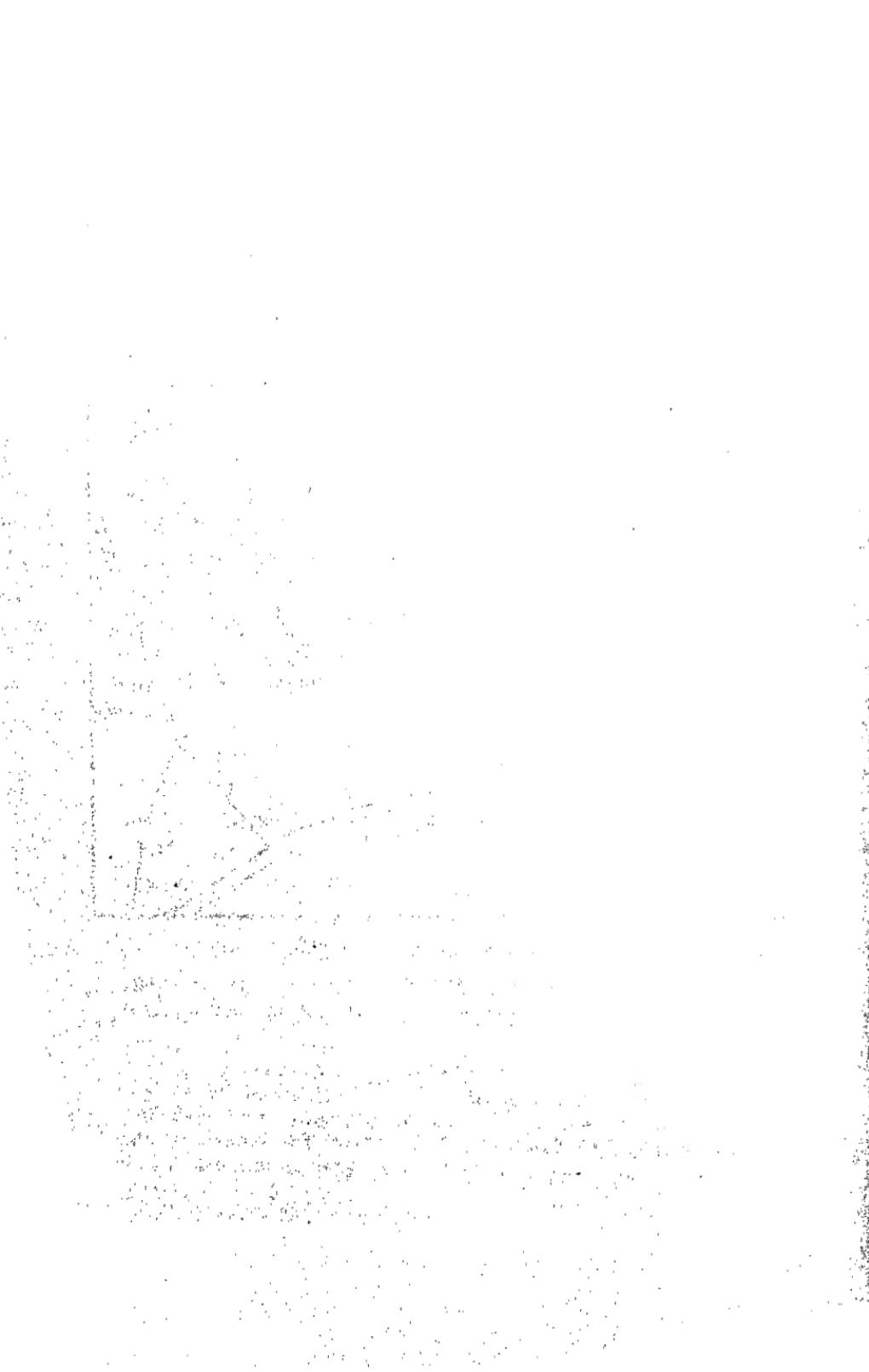
² *M.M.A.* i. 232.



BERKELEY

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—INNER WARD
- 1.—KITCHEN
- 2.—HALL
- 3.—CHAPEL
- 4.—KEEP
- 5.—THORPE TOWER
- 6.—MUNIMENT TOWER
- 7.—PARISH CHURCH

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the
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entered by this door gives access to the usual passage between the screen, and the doors, set in arches of the same kind, leading to the butteries and kitchen. The hall itself has four long flat-topped windows towards the ward, each divided by a mullion and transom into four lights, and between each window outside is a triangular buttress. One of the windows on the opposite side has been converted into a door opening upon a flight of steps descending to the terrace. The fireplace is now at the south or dais end, but it was probably once in the centre, the smoke escaping through a louvre in the roof. To the west of the fireplace, steps lead up into the antechamber of the chapel, and thence to the drawing-rooms, which occupy the first floor of the south side of the ward. The chapel, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, has a south aisle contrived in the thickness of the wall and opening into the nave by four foliated arches, and opposite each arch is a small window in the outer wall. To the south of the altar is the entrance to a narrow mural chamber intended for a vestry. The roof is low-pitched and divided into square panels by timber ribs, and on these as well as on the aisle wall are the remains of some sentences taken from a translation of the book of Revelation into French made by John of Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley, by the order of Thomas, lord of Berkeley, 1368-1417. At the west end is a pew of two stages, the upper opening out of one of the drawing-rooms.

A short sketch of the noble family who have for so many centuries been the owners of the castle may not be unacceptable to the reader. For three generations before the accession of Henry II to the throne, Berkeley had been in the hands of a family the founder

of which, Roger of Dursley and Coberley, became of Berkeley on being made provost of the manor by William FitzOsbern ; but at the conclusion of the wars between Stephen and Matilda (1153), the third Roger de Berkeley, who had sided with Stephen, was deprived, and the castle was given by Matilda's son Henry to one of his supporters—Robert FitzHardinge, a wealthy merchant of Bristol. When Henry came to the throne the two families of Berkeley and FitzHardinge were united by a double marriage,¹ and Roger was restored to his other estates. His descendants survived in the male line at Dursley till 1382 and at Coberley till 1404. The FitzHardinges now assumed the name of Berkeley, and in 1295 Thomas, fourth in descent from Robert, was created a baron ; it was not till 1679 that his descendant George was created Earl of Berkeley. The present Lord FitzHardinge is descended from the fifth earl, who died in 1810, and the present Earl of Berkeley from the fifth earl's brother George, who died in 1818.

In the fifteenth century a fierce struggle for the Berkeley estates raged between the descendants of the daughter and heiress of the fifth baron, and those of his brother, which terminated in favour of the latter at a skirmish known as the battle of Nibley Green in 1470. William Berkeley, the seventh baron, who was the victor, having no issue, and having quarrelled with his brother, settled the castle and estates on Henry VII in tail male,² and thus on his death in 1492 they fell

¹ Robert's son Maurice married Alice, daughter of Roger, and Roger's son Helena, daughter of Robert.

² He enjoyed the favour of three sovereigns : by Edward IV he was created Viscount Berkeley, by Richard III Earl of Nottingham, and by Henry VII Marquess of Berkeley. It is needless to say that all these titles died with him.

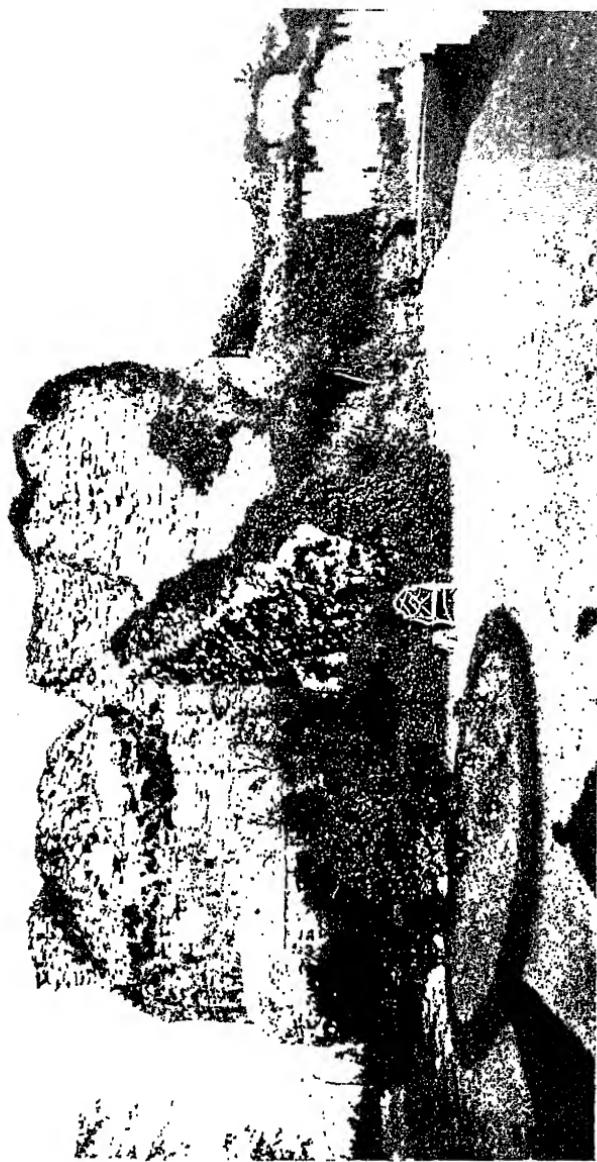
into the hands of the Crown and did not revert to the Berkeley family till the death of the last heir male of Henry VII in 1553. This was the sixty-one years' alienation mentioned at the opening of this chapter.

At the beginning of the civil war the castle was held for the Parliament, but in July 1643 the garrison was withdrawn for the defence of Gloucester. After Naseby, in the autumn of 1645, it was the only fortress of any importance between Bristol and Gloucester still in the possession of the Royalists. It was now commanded by Sir Charles Lucas, three years later the gallant defender of Colchester, and in September Colonel Rainsborough was dispatched by Fairfax for its reduction. On the 23rd he summoned the place to surrender. Sir Charles replied that he would eat horse's flesh first, and the outworks were then carried by storm, 40 of the defenders being slain and 90 taken prisoners. Sir Charles now saw that further resistance was useless, and a capitulation followed. On the 26th five hundred horse and foot marched out of the castle, the governor with three horses and his arms and not more than £50 in money, field officers with two horses and £7 each, foot captains with swords, but no horse, and common soldiers without arms and not more than five shillings apiece. Eleven guns and six months' provisions fell into the hands of the captors.¹ Next year the outworks were destroyed, and to render the place untenable in future, the great breach was made in the wall of the keep. The castle was then given back to George, thirteenth Baron Berkeley, who, though a Royalist, seems to have had friends in the dominant party. He died in 1658, and according to

¹ *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. cxii, from Sprigge's *Anglia redivivua*

— OF ENGLAND AND WALES

his epitaph in Cranford Church, Middlesex, "besides the nobility of his birth, and the experience he acquired by foreign travels, was very eminent for the great candour and ingenuity of his disposition, his singular bounty and affability towards his inferiours, and his readiness (had it been in his power) to have obliged all mankind."



PONTEFRACT, KEEP

CHAPTER XIII

PONTEFRACT

PONTEFRACT CASTLE was levelled with the ground in 1649, but the important part it played in the history of the north, and the former splendour of its vanished buildings, may justify its inclusion in this volume. About a century after its destruction an engraving, professing to be based on a contemporary sketch, was executed for the Society of Antiquaries ; it is, however, remarkable for the want of perspective so characteristic of the architectural drawings of the period. Attention has recently been called to a much better representation of the castle preserved at Hampton Court. But however much we may be indebted to the artist, excavation remains the surest way to arrive at an ideal reconstruction of the castle ; and though much has already been done in this direction, more remains. A brief sketch only of the present state of the ruins will be attempted here, and the reader who wishes for more may be referred to the publications of the late Richard Holmes, a native of the town, who devoted many years to the study of its antiquities.

The site of the castle is the summit of a rocky hill projecting into the plain of the Aire from the north-

east corner of the town, the steep slopes of which have been made more formidable by scarping; but they are, unfortunately, so encumbered with trees that the strategic importance of the position, when viewed from a distance, is considerably obscured, added to which within the *enceinte* itself plantations have been made to the perplexity of those visitors whose principal object is the study of the architectural history of the place.

A glance at the plan will show that the general scheme of the castle is that of a main ward or bailey, more or less circular in shape, with two oblong wards one behind the other to the south of it, forming a double enclosure running east and west, generally called the outer and inner barbican, and, like the main ward, defended by curtains and towers.

Entering the castle from Micklegate on the south-west, the traveller passed through an outer gatehouse, of which no traces now remain, and crossing the ditch by a drawbridge passed between the "Main Guard"—a building still standing—on his right and the "King's Stable" on his left, and so reached the inner gatehouse in the south curtain of the main ward, the position of which is marked by a fragment of masonry still standing—one of the very few remaining above ground. Turning to the right at this point, the towers in the curtain were the Constable's, the King's, the Queen's, the Treasurer's, Gascoigne's, Piper's, and the Keep. Of the Constable's tower nothing remains, and its foundations have not been excavated. Beyond this are the remains of a long building, which was adapted in Tudor times to the purposes of a chapel, and in which during the Civil War interments were made. The King's and Queen's towers were erected

by John of Gaunt, on the site of earlier buildings, and in front of the former the foundations of the eastern part of the Norman chapel of St. Clement have been uncovered. It is supposed that this chapel, together with a tower or hall which stood to the west of it, were destroyed by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, about 1280, to clear the view from the buildings which he erected behind it, afterwards superseded by those of John of Gaunt. The western part of the chapel has not been excavated, but enough has been revealed to show that there was a nave with two narrow aisles, a chancel, and a sanctuary; behind which was an apse for an ambulatory, according to Mr. Holmes, of rather earlier date than the rest of the building.

Beyond the Queen's tower, on the outer face of the ditch, are the ruins of the Swillington tower, attributed to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (executed 1322), from which the passage of the Aire at Ferrybridge would be about two miles distant. Next, inside the curtain, is a series of excavations, including the Earl of Lincoln's hall (afterwards turned into a kitchen), a bakehouse, and stables. Farther south, in front of the site of Gascoigne's tower, a large room has been cleared out, traditionally said to be the one in which Richard II was confined, and in which, owing to the intentional neglect of his gaolers, he died.

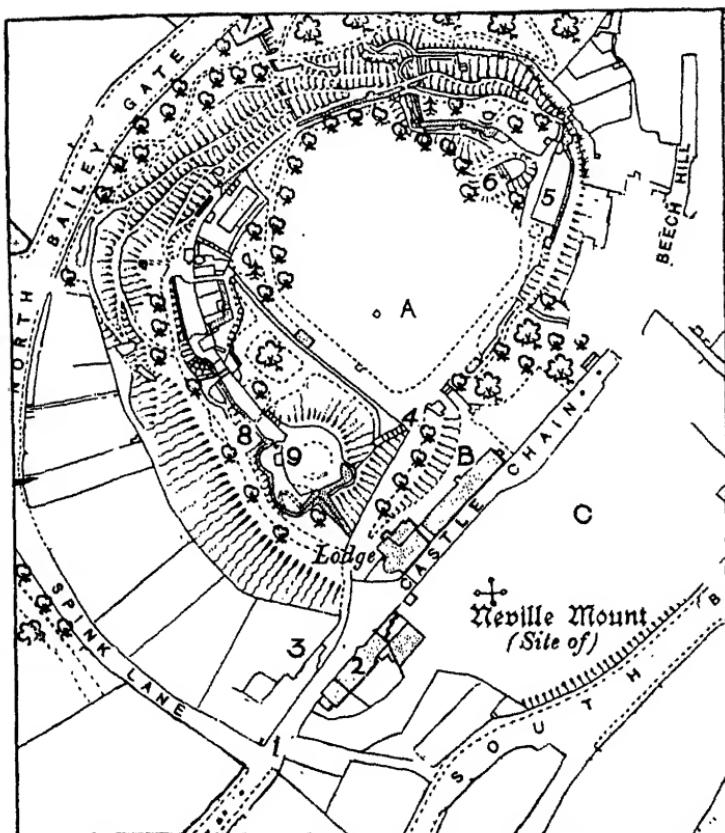
Along the western side of the ward runs a platform,¹ about 8 feet above the ground level, from which the top of the mound is reached. This was the mote or *motte* of the original castle, and, viewed from the outside, it will be seen that it has been scarped into three pro-

¹ Perhaps thrown up during the siege of 1648 to mount guns on.
Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, p. 189.

jecting bastions, which have been revetted and carried up as large round towers, and which have been compared to those of Richard I at Château Gaillard. The central bastion contains a staircase leading from a postern to the top of the mound, and communicating with an internal chamber, and with a gallery which commands the postern. Whether the mound had its own ditch is uncertain ; if it had, one side of it is now covered by the platform just mentioned. But it has been suggested¹ that a remnant of it is to be found in the passage leading through Piper's tower. However this may be, the fortified summit of the mound must have contained the earliest hall and other living rooms of the lord and his family. Then, as the accommodation these afforded became too confined, and larger quarters were desired, the Norman hall and chapel in the bailey would be built. The cellars beneath this hall, together with the foot of the vice, by which they were originally reached, remain ; but when the hall was demolished, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, a straight staircase, the entrance to which is near the retaining wall of the platform on the west, as well as a shaft giving light to its foot, was cut in the rock. This hall and chapel swept away, there followed the work of the Earl of Lincoln and of the Earls of Lancaster who succeeded him, and lastly that of John of Gaunt at the end of the fourteenth century. Subsequent alterations were of small account.

A position so advantageous as the rock of Pontefract—or Kirkby, as it seems then to have been called—commanding as it did one of the principal thoroughfares to the north, was not likely to have

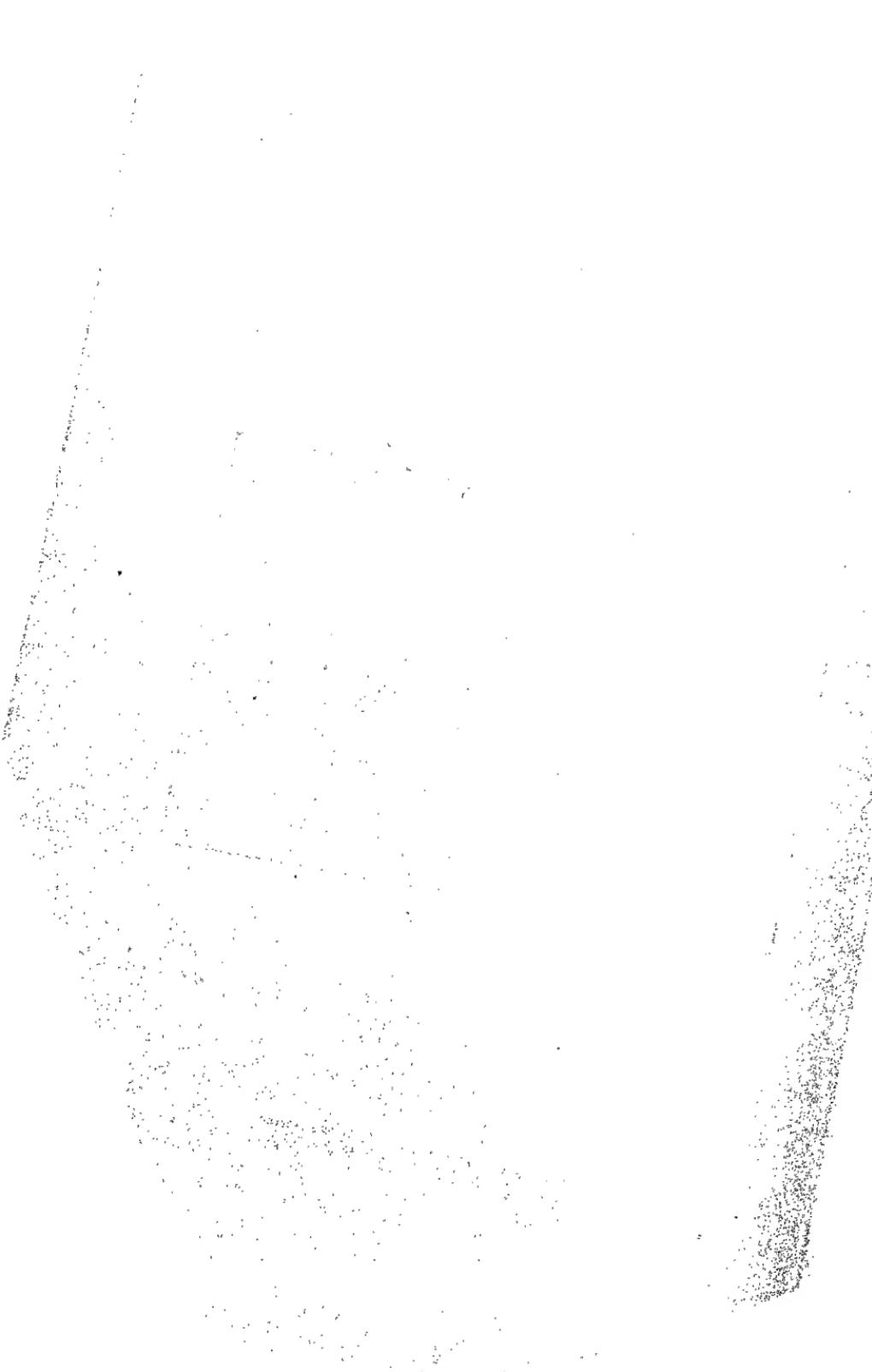
¹ By Mrs. Armitage, *English Historical Review*, 1904.



PONTEFRACT

- A.—MAIN WARD
- B.—INNER BARBICAN
- C.—OUTER BARBICAN
- 1.—OUTER GATEHOUSE
- 2.—MAIN GUARD
- 3.—KING'S STABLE
- 4.—INNER GATEHOUSE
- 5.—TUDOR CHAPEL
- 6.—NORMAN CHAPEL
- 7.—SWILLINGTON TOWER
- 8.—PIPER'S TOWER
- 9.—KEEP

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the
sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*



been neglected by the pre-Norman inhabitants of the district; but the history of the castle begins with Domesday,¹ and it was probably in 1069, when the rising of the northern shires brought the Conqueror across the Don, that he bestowed this part of Yorkshire upon his follower, Ilbert de Lacy—some connexion, no doubt, of the de Lacy's of Ludlow and of Ewias. It would be of the greatest interest if any account had survived of the state of the rock when Ilbert entered on possession, but whatever fortifications may have existed previously, the presumption is that he hedged in the top of the mote with a palisade and erected a wooden tower upon it.² After eight generations, the daughter of the last de Lacy—Henry, Earl of Lincoln, who died in 1312—brought the castle to her husband, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the first cousin of Edward II. This earl, who was one of the leaders of the opposition to the favourites of the King, after the execution of Gaveston, joined the party of Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and other nobles against the Despencers, and finally after his surrender at Boroughbridge, on the Ure, some 30 miles to the north, was brought a prisoner to his own castle of Pontefract. His trial took place before the King and his assessors in the hall—either the one

¹ In Domesday it is spoken of as "the Castle of Ilbert." The name Pontefract does not occur. A charter of 1087 proves the existence of the castle at least as early as 1082. Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, p. 187.

² Of the three round towers above mentioned, one is wholly ruined. Mrs. Armitage conjectures (*Early Norman Castles*, p. 189) that there may have been a fourth. "If the plan was a quatrefoil it resembled the keep of York, which is now ascertained to belong to the reign of Henry III; and the very little detail that is left supports the view that Pontefract keep was copied from the royal experiment at York, though it differed from it in that it actually revetted the motte itself."

now excavated and found to have been subsequently converted into a kitchen, or another not yet unearthed but conjectured to have adjoined it on the east. He was sentenced to a traitor's death; but, in consideration of his royal lineage, the degrading severities were omitted. Clad in mean attire, and mounted on a sorry nag, he was led to a hill on the west of the castle, afterwards known as St. Thomas's Hill, and there beheaded. His brother Henry was restored to his honours by Edward III. Henry's grand-daughter married John of Gaunt; and thus, in the person of Henry IV, the castle became vested in the Crown.

We have already referred to the imprisonment and murder of Richard II. The only other historical events of importance connected with the castle are its occupation by the insurgents in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the part it played in the Civil Wars. The account of the former may be read at length in Froude. On October 20th, 1536, Robert Aske, the chief captain of the Pilgrimage, and a fine character who deserved a better fate, entered the castle and joined forces with the Lord Darcy, who had already shut himself up within it, and who it appears was neither able nor particularly anxious to hold out against him. "On the afternoon of the surrender the insurgent leaders were sitting at dinner at the great table in the hall. A letter was brought in and given to Lord Darcy. He read it, dropped it on the cloth, and 'suddenly gave a great sigh.' Aske, who was sitting opposite to him, stretched his hand for the paper across the board. It was brief, and carried no signature—Lord Shrewsbury, the writer merely said, would be at Pomfret the same night."¹ Measures

¹ Froude, ii. 550.

were at once taken to stop his advance, and he contented himself therefore with dispatching Lancaster Herald with a royal proclamation to be read at the market cross at Pontefract. Before Lancaster could do this, however, he was arrested and carried to the castle. “‘As I entered into the first ward,’ he said, ‘there I found many in harness, very cruel fellows, and a porter with a white staff in his hand ; and at the two other ward gates [the outer and inner gates of the great gatehouse to the main ward] a porter with his staff, accompanied with harnessed men. I was brought into the hall, which I found full of people ; and there I was commanded to tarry till the traitorous captain’s pleasure was known. In that space I stood up at the high table in the hall, and there showed to the people the cause of my coming and the effect of the proclamation ; and in doing the same the said Aske sent for me into his chamber, there keeping his port and countenance as though he had been a great prince.”¹ The herald was dismissed with a statement of their demands, and the insurgents, 30,000 strong, advanced upon Doncaster, where Shrewsbury and Norfolk, with an inconsiderable and disaffected force, were awaiting them. The river Don separated the two armies, and the insurgents covered its left bank from opposite Conisborough to the town. Had an immediate engagement, as Darcy advised, been determined on, they would have gained a decisive victory, but Aske preferred to temporise, and deputies were sent to London to negotiate with the King. The King’s object was to gain time to organize his force and to ascertain the temper of the large towns in the disaffected counties, and it was the end of November

¹ *Froude*, ii. 560,

management of affairs was passing into the hands of the Army. The Royalist insurrections which brought about what is known as the Second Civil War broke out, and the Scots were preparing to cross the Border. Everything seemed favourable for an attempt, and on June 3rd Col. John Morris (or Marris), with a dozen others in the disguise of countrymen, obtained admission to the castle, surprised the governor, Col. Cotterel, in his bed, and imprisoned him and some thirty of his men in the subterranean chambers under the main ward.¹ Morris now made his preparations to stand a siege, but for some months no regular investment took place. In August, Cromwell reached Doncaster on his march against the Scottish army, and recruited his forces from the old soldiers who were lying before Pontefract, leaving in their place some new levies which he had raised in his march through the Midlands. It is worth noting that it was here that the nickname "Ironsides" was first applied to his soldiers.² The garrison were now shut up within the castle, from which however they still managed to make forays, and at the beginning of November Cromwell again arrived on his return journey, fully determined to reduce it. His headquarters were at Knottingley, about three miles to the north-east, and on the 9th he summoned Morris to surrender. Morris refused, and on the 15th Cromwell wrote to the London Committee for supplies of money, guns, and ammunition: he told them that the castle had been victualled with two hundred and twenty or forty fat cattle, "and they have also gotten in, as I am credibly informed,

¹ The names of some of them can still be seen carved on the walls of the stairs.

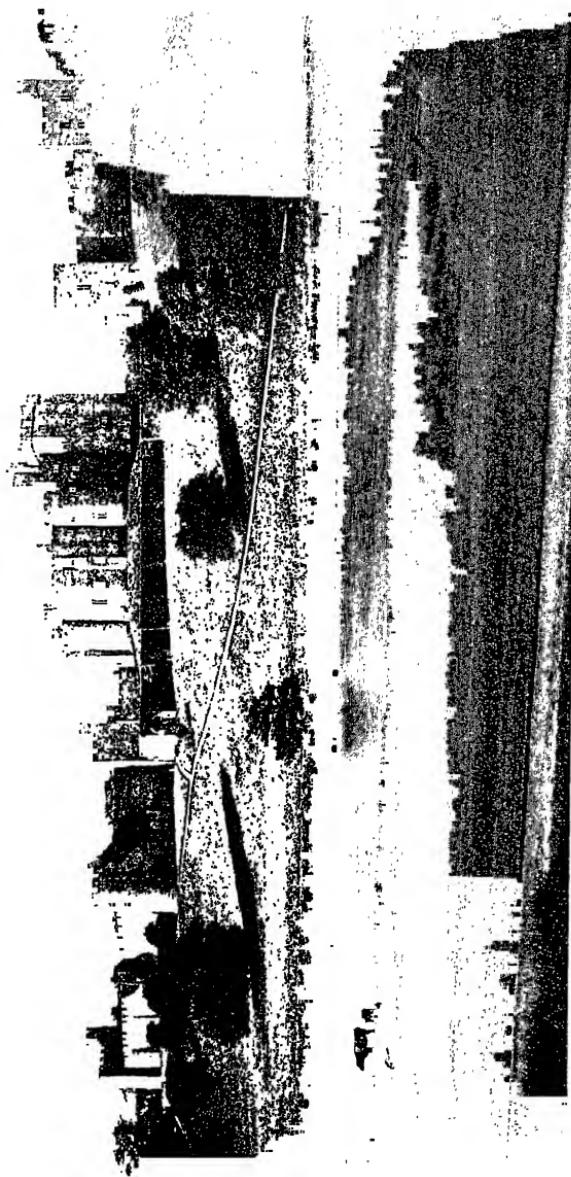
² *Gardiner, Civil War*, vol. iv. p. 179.

salt enough for them and more. So that I apprehend they are victualled for a twelvemonth. The men are resolved to endure to the utmost extremity ; expecting no mercy, as indeed they deserve none. The place is very well known to be one of the strongest inland Garrisons in the Kingdom ; well watered ; situated upon a rock in every part of it, and therefore difficult to mine. The walls very thick and high, with strong towers ; and if battered, very difficult of access by reason of the depth and steepness of the graft [ditch].”¹ This letter had its effect, but no impression seems to have been made upon the castle, and early in December Cromwell had to proceed to London, leaving Lambert in charge of the operations. For three months more the siege dragged on, but the bravest garrison could not hold out for ever against such odds as were now pitted against it. A flash of the old spirit was shown when the news arrived of the execution of the King ; the defenders are said to have been the first to proclaim his son, and to adopt the motto “ Post mortem patris pro filio ” ; but many of them had been slain, many disabled, and provisions were becoming exhausted. Articles of surrender were therefore signed on March 17th, and the 140 survivors, who had but two months’ provisions and forty barrels of powder left, marched out. All but six received a full pardon. These six, however, in the true English spirit of fair play, were to be given the chance of escaping if they could ; accordingly, supported by a party of friends, they attempted to force their way through the lines. Two, of whom Col. Morris was one, made good their escape, one was killed, and the other three driven back to the castle : here they

¹ Carlyle’s *Cromwell*, Letter LXXXI.

were concealed in the blocked passage under Piper's tower, and after the surrender made their way out. Morris and his companion attempted to reach the coast of Lancashire, but were captured, tried at York assizes, and executed.

The Parliament's order for the destruction of the castle followed close on the surrender: with what completeness it was carried out the visitor can see for himself.



ALNWICK FROM THE NORTH-EAST



CHAPTER XIV

ALNWICK

ALNWICK, the second of the five Northumbrian castles included in this volume, is beautifully situated on a moderate eminence rising from the south bank of the river Aln some five miles from its mouth. Its situation on the high road from Berwick to Newcastle made it from the first a position of importance, and a formidable obstacle in the path of the Scottish invaders. The darkest period in its history set in about the middle of the sixteenth century, when its military value began to decline, and for the next 200 years so little care was taken of it that it was allowed to fall into a ruinous condition. All this has, however, long been remedied, and it is now the principal residence of the representative of the great historic family into whose possession it passed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The principal epochs in the history of the fabric are (1) 1096-1150, original building; (2) 1309-1350, first rebuilding; (3) 1750, second rebuilding; (4) 1854, third rebuilding.

The shape of the castle is roughly that of an isosceles triangle with the apex towards the east, about 226 yards in length, with a base of 125 yards. In the middle of the enclosure, and dividing it into an eastern and a western ward, is the keep, a polygonal

cluster of towers with an open court in the centre, and built on the lines of the Norman shell keep which originally crowned the knoll. The keep is now connected with the south curtain by a range of buildings pierced by the middle gate, which forms the communication between the western or outer and the eastern or inner ward, and with the north curtain by a wall of moderate height which unites the north-west corner of the Prudhoe tower with the Falconer's tower.

The outer gatehouse, which forms the principal entrance to the castle, projects 42 feet outside the west curtain, and outside this again is a barbican with a further projection of 56 feet. In the centre of the battlemented front is the gateway, round-headed and flanked on either side by rectangular buttresses corbelled out above into oblong turrets containing shelters. Over the gate is a panel containing a modern figure of the Percy lion, replacing one brought from Hulne Priory in 1488, and on the merlons here, as well as on the gatehouse of the keep, are stone figures of warriors, put there by the first duke at the second rebuilding to replace earlier figures then decayed. Passing through the gate we are in a passage between lofty side walls, the first 18 feet of which are vaulted and the rest open to the sky. Over the vaulting is a platform reached by a staircase in the thickness of the south wall of the passage, while in the north wall there is a postern. The alures of these walls communicate at one end with the second floor of the gatehouse, and at the other with the platform. In front of the gatehouse was the ditch which protected the castle on this side, and turning the south-west corner joined the head of the deep depression, once the bed of the Bow burn, which separates

the castle from the town. Within the barbican and to the south of it the ditch is now filled in, but it remains open to the north. Within the barbican it was crossed by a drawbridge, the counterpoise of which, when the bridge was raised, descended into a pit just inside the gate on the farther side. This pit, and also the pivot holes in which the trunnions of the bridge worked, were discovered in the course of some repairs which were being made to the roadway in 1902.¹ Both the pit and the ditch had been filled in before 1567, the date of a survey of the castle, still preserved in the archives. The ditch passed through the walls of the barbican beneath pointed archways, strongly ribbed. The gatehouse itself was defended by a portcullis and outer and inner gates set in round-headed arches like the barbican gate. The outer gate is flanked by half octagon turrets, the inner by flat turrets of slight projection. The upper part consists of two storeys, and on the ground-floor there are guard-rooms or lodges on either side of the roadway, the one to the south containing a stair leading down to a postern which opened into a ditch. The whole of this structure—barbican and gatehouse—is early fourteenth-century work of the same character as the Walmgate at York, and was probably erected by the first Percy of Alnwick, 1309–1315. Viewed from the large open space in front, the effect is hardly less imposing than it must have been when it first defied the invader six centuries ago. If there were any outer defences in those days, they were probably nothing more than a palisade, but the recess over the gate has traces of two blocked openings which

¹ A full account of these discoveries by Mr. W. H. Knowles will be found in *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vol. v.

may have been intended to hold the beams for a hoard.

Entering the outer ward the visitor finds himself face to face with the keep, the towers of which, though to a great extent modern, are built upon the old Norman lines. To his left is the nineteenth-century Prudhoe tower, which contains the library, and immediately to the right of this is the chapel. To the left of the gatehouse and projecting outwards from the west curtain is the Avener's¹ tower, and in the north the Abbot's tower, probably so called because in times of danger the abbot of Alnwick Abbey was lodged there. Next, on the north curtain, is the Falconer's tower, rebuilt here at a short distance from its original position in 1856. As already noticed, a short wall connects this tower with the keep, just as on the other side of the keep a wall formerly connected the Postern tower with the tower of the hall, but the Falconer's and the Postern towers were never joined by a curtain, and the north front of the keep was always open to the river, as if challenging the enemy to assail it on this side. The keep was, however, surrounded by its own ditch, and the ascent from the river had been made more formidable by scarping. To the right of the gatehouse is the tower called the West garret, and in the corner the modern Clock tower, the ground plan of which is shaped like a shield. Between this and the middle gate is the Auditor's tower. This outer ward formerly contained a building attached to the gatehouse called the Exchequer, and the stables near the Clock tower. The latter are now outside the curtain on this side.

¹ The Avener was the officer who had charge of the horses' provender: Latin, *avenerius* from *avena*, oats.

Passing through the middle gate into the inner ward, and leaving on the right the modern Lion Gate leading to the gardens, we pass first the Warder's tower, then the small East garret, and so reach the Ravine tower at the angle overlooking the ravine. This is a round tower, with a projecting square turret on its north side containing a vice. The north curtain, which runs from this tower to the Postern tower, contains "Hotspur's Chair" and the Constable's tower. The former is the gorge of a half-round tower now removed, the latter caps a salient pointing north-east and is rounded towards the field; towards the ward its face is flat, and its three floors are approached by an exterior staircase. The Postern tower is rectangular; it contains the passage leading to the postern which opened on to the slope above the river. The passage is vaulted, and was defended by a portcullis. Between the Ravine tower and "Hotspur's Chair" is the "Bloody Gap," traditionally said to be the point attacked by the Scots in 1093 when King Malcolm's son Edward was slain, but more probably caused by the fall of a tower.¹ This ward, besides domestic offices, contained the chapel, the ruins of which were removed in the eighteenth century, and the conduit, the water of which was conducted by leaden pipes from a spring outside the walls called Howling Well.

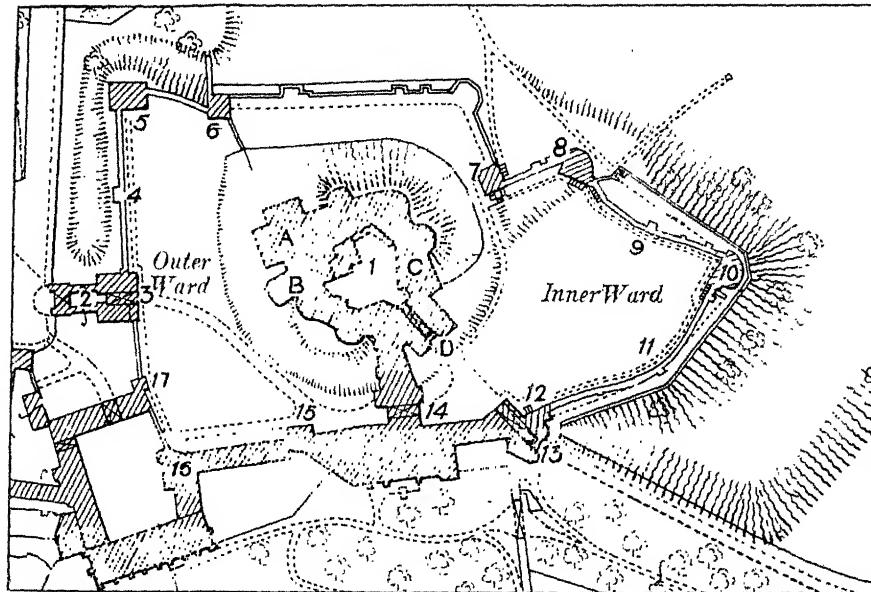
The east side of the keep contains the hall, with its bay at the upper end. It is attributed to the first Percy of Alnwick, the author of the west gatehouse, but was rebuilt by the fourth duke in 1854. The court in the centre of the keep is entered by a fine Norman gateway in the south-east corner dating from

¹ Bates, *Border Holds*, p. 166 n.

the middle of the twelfth century. In the middle of the fourteenth century this gate was enclosed in a gatehouse (distinguished from the other as the inner gatehouse) by the second Percy of Alnwick. Like the outer gatehouse built by his father, it has half-octagon turrets towards the field, and the entrance passage is portcullised with outer and inner gates. On the east side is a prison chamber with an oubliette beneath entered by a trap-door in the floor. On the right hand as the court is entered is a recess beneath a pointed arch, itself divided into three pointed compartments; the centre one contains the mouth of a well, the shaft of which descends in the thickness of the wall, and the two outer ones contain wooden wheels set round with pegs for hoisting up the bucket. Above is a figure of St. James, said to be an insertion of the eighteenth century.

The first lord of Alnwick known to history¹ was Ivo de Vesci, who seems to have been in possession by the close of the eleventh century, and who was dead by 1135. Whether he fortified the mound with a palisade is not known, but the foundation of the castle is ascribed to his son-in-law Eustace FitzJohn, who died in 1157. Eustace was twice married, first to Beatrix, daughter and heiress of Ivo, and secondly to Agnes, daughter and heiress of William Fitz-Nigel. From the first marriage came the lords of Alnwick, from the second the lords of Warkworth and Clavering. William the son of Beatrix assumed his mother's name of de Vesci, and his line came to an end with his great-grandson, another William,

¹ Gilbert Tison, a standard-bearer of the Conqueror, is said to have received a grant of Alnwick, but there being no Domesday for the country north of the Tees, the statement lacks confirmation.



ALNWICK

1.—KEEP	8.—CONSTABLE'S TOWER
(A) PRUDHOR TOWER	9.—HOTSPUR'S CHAIR
(B) CHAPEL	10.—RAVINE TOWER
(C) HALL	11.—EAST GARRET
(D) INNER GATEHOUSE	12.—WARDER'S TOWER
2.—BARBICAN	13.—LION GATE
3.—OUTER GATEHOUSE	14.—MIDDLE GATE
4.—AVENER'S TOWER	15.—AUDITOR'S TOWER
5.—ABBOT'S TOWER	16.—CLOCK TOWER
6.—FALCONER'S TOWER	17.—WEST GARRET
7.—POSTERN TOWER	

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the
variation of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*

in 1297.¹ The lordship of Alnwick was then acquired by Antony Beck, Bishop of Durham, who sold it in 1309 to the then representative of the Yorkshire family of Percy.

The founder of this family was William de Percy (Perceium), who obtained a settlement in the fertile plain afterwards known as the Vale of Mowbray, and who perished in the first Crusade, twenty years after the Conquest. From him the present (seventh) Duke of Northumberland is lineally descended, and only three times has the connecting link passed through the female: first, towards the end of the twelfth century, when Agnes Percy married Josceline de Louvain; secondly, when in 1682 the Baroness Percy, sole heir of the last Earl of Northumberland, married the Duke of Somerset; and thirdly when, in 1740, her granddaughter Elizabeth Seymour became the wife of Sir Hugh Smithson of Stanwick, an estate which lies between the Tees and the Swale.

As the descendants of Eustace FitzJohn took the name of de Vesci, so those of Josceline de Louvain took the name of Percy, and it was the eighth Yorkshire Percy who became the first Percy of Alnwick. In 1377 Richard II created the fourth Percy of Alnwick Earl of Northumberland, and in spite of three several attainders ten earls of his line followed him. The last earl died in 1670, and it was his daughter who carried the barony of Percy into the Seymour

¹ An interesting fact is preserved in connexion with this William's elder brother, John de Vesci, who had died in 1289. He fought on the side of Simon de Montfort at Evesham in 1265, and escaping from the field, he carried home one of the feet of Earl Simon, which had been barbarously hacked off. This, encased in a silver shoe, was preserved as a venerated relic in Alnwick Abbey right down to the Dissolution, Bates, *Border Holds*, p. 169.

family. The earldom became extinct, but was revived in favour of her son the seventh Duke of Somerset. From him it passed to his daughter's husband, Sir Hugh Smithson, who sixteen years afterwards, in 1766, became the first Duke of Northumberland.

To write the history of the Percies would be to write the history of England. No other family has figured so largely and for so long a period in public affairs. The first earl rebelled against Henry IV, the last but one lent his support to the enemies of Charles I. The brother of the sixth earl was hanged for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace, the seventh lost his head as one of the rebel lords in the Rising of the North. Hotspur, the son of the first earl, fell at Shrewsbury, his father at Bramham Moor. In the Wars of the Roses the Percies sided with the house of Lancaster: the second earl was slain at St. Albans, the third at Towton, his brother Sir Ralph at Hedgeley Moor, and Sir Ralph's son, Sir Henry,¹ who had supported Richard III, went over to Henry Tudor on the field of Bosworth. Against the Scots, as every schoolboy knows, the English cause was personified in the Percies: there was scarcely a battle in which some member of the family was not conspicuous, witness the fights of Halidon Hill, Neville's Cross, Otterburn, Homildon, and Piperden.

But our business lies with Alnwick, and it is not with Alnwick that the exploits of the Percies are chiefly associated. After the close of the fourteenth century, though they maintained a garrison in the castle, it was only under stress of circumstances, or when compelled by their office as warden of the

¹ Bates, *History of Northumberland*, p. 204.

Marches, that the earls resided there.¹ They preferred Warkworth, and were generally to be found either there or at one of their Yorkshire houses, or in later times at distant Petworth, in Sussex. At last, in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the first duke took it in hand, the castle was again made habitable, and has ever since remained the chief residence of the family. But in spite of these repairs and those of the fourth duke a century later, the main outlines of the castle, as laid down by Eustace FitzJohn and the two first Percies, have not been altered. The Norman work may be traced in the foundations and the lower parts of the curtain, while the curtain towers and the two gatehouses are mainly of the early fourteenth century. The keep has, of course, been twice remodelled, but much of the older work has been preserved.

Since the Wars of the Roses, when it changed hands more than once, and finally fell into the hands of the Yorkists after the battle of Hexham in 1464, the military history of Alnwick has been almost a blank.² The days of Border warfare were the days of its pride. One of the strongest fortresses on the English side, it repulsed the repeated efforts of the Scots. Two of these, commemorated as they are by local memorials, may be mentioned. The first was in 1093, in the earliest days of the castle, when it can have been little more than a palisaded mote. Malcolm III, unable to obtain justice from Rufus, then crossed the Border, and had reached the hill opposite Alnwick

¹ George Tate, *History of Alnwick*, 1866, vol. i. p. 353.

² In 1569, at the Rising of the North, the Castles of Alnwick and Warkworth were garrisoned by large numbers of the earl's retainers, and it was only with difficulty that Sir John Foster, the warden of the middle marches, got possession of them. Bates, *Border Holds*, p. 125.

when Robert de Mowbray, at that time Earl of Northumberland, met him, and in the ensuing struggle Malcolm was slain by an English knight. A cross¹ marks the spot where he fell.

Nearly a century later, in 1174, when William de Vesci, the son of Eustace FitzJohn, was lord, Malcolm's great-grandson, William the Lion, invaded Northumberland to create a diversion in favour of the rebel sons of Henry II. After making an incursion into Cumberland on his return journey, he attacked Prudhoe Castle on the Tyne, then the seat of Odonel de Umfraville. Unable to make any impression on it, his army began to ravage the whole countryside, while William himself, attended by only 500 knights, laid siege to Alnwick. Meanwhile Umfraville had gone to Newcastle to raise troops, and news of the Scottish King's isolation having reached him, he at once made a forced march northwards under cover of night. In the early summer morning his army found themselves enveloped in a thick fog: they could not tell where they were, or how far they might be distant from the marauding parties of the enemy. To retreat upon their footsteps seemed the only safe course, but the situation was saved by Bernard Balliol of Barnard Castle, one of Umfraville's most trusted comrades. "Let him go back who will," the chronicler reports him to have said. "I will not stamp my name with everlasting disgrace, even though alone I will go onward." The army then resumed their march, and when the fog broke they were overjoyed to see the battlements of Alnwick glittering in the morning sun. William was then

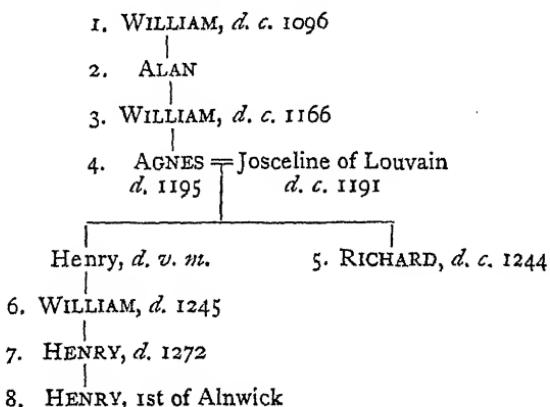
¹ The earlier cross was replaced by one in eighteenth-century Gothic by the Duchess Elizabeth in 1774.

encamped a short distance to the west of the castle waiting for the return of his forces. A short struggle took place, but when the King's horse was killed under him he yielded himself a prisoner. The traditional site of his surrender is commemorated by an inscription on a large stone block, which took the place of an eighteenth-century monument about the middle of the last century. A granite tablet inserted into the face of the block bears the following inscription :

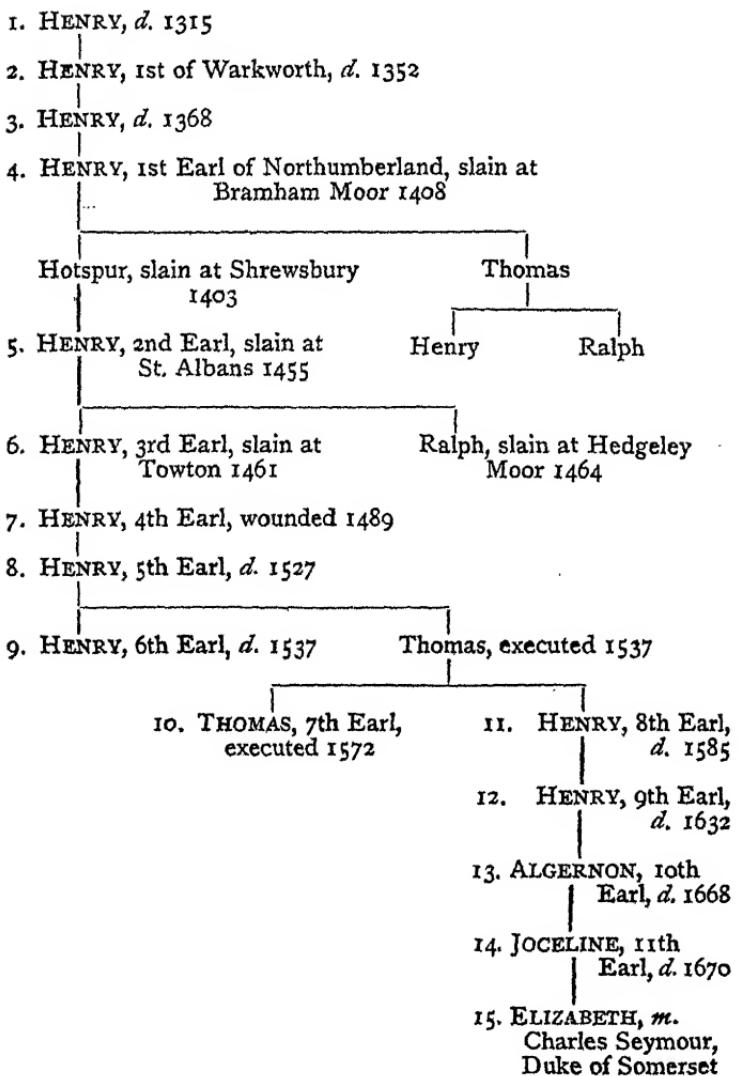
"William the Lion, King of Scotland, besieging Alnwick Castle, was here taken prisoner MCLXXIV."

The following tables will be found useful in connexion with the history of the Percy castles :

PERCY OF YORKSHIRE



PERCY OF ALNWICK



DUKES OF NORTHUMBERLAND

Charles Seymour = Elizabeth Percy,
Duke of Somerset, daughter of the
d. 1748 last Earl, d. 1722

16. Algernon, Duke of Somerset,
d. 1750

17. Elizabeth = Sir HUGH Smithson, 1st Duke
of Northumberland, d. 1786

18. HUGH, 2nd Duke, d. 1817

Algernon, d. 1830

19. HUGH, 3rd Duke,
d. 1847

20. ALGERNON, 4th
Duke, *d.* 1865

21. GEORGE, 5th Duke,
d. 1867

22. ALGERNON, 6th Duke
d. 1899

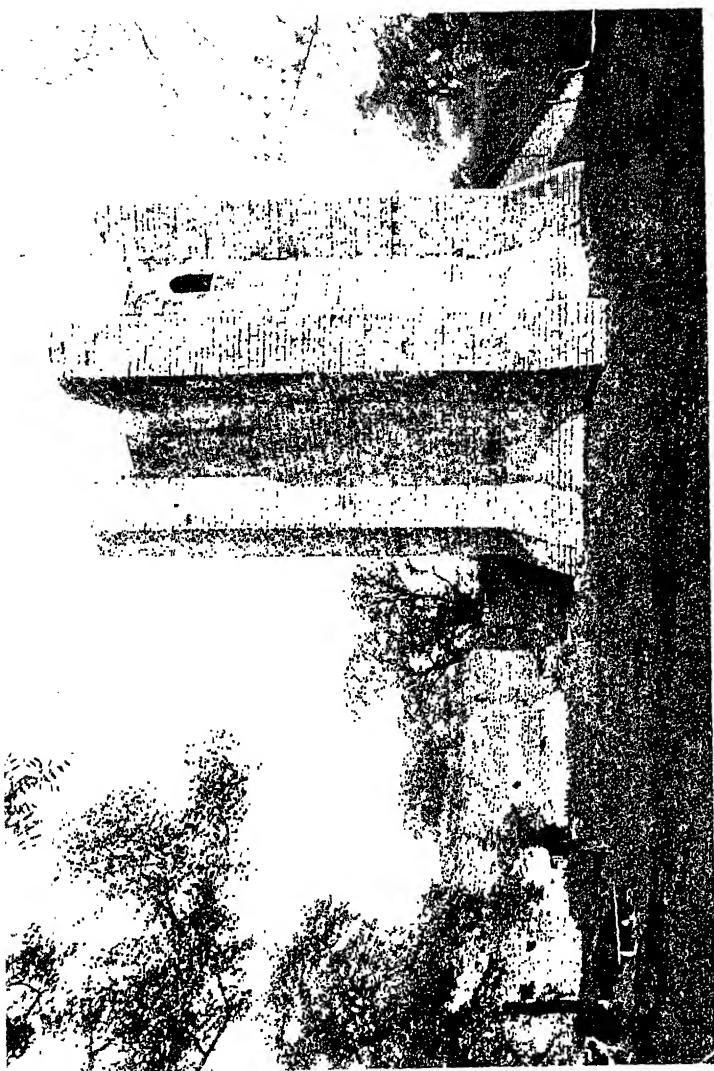
23. HENRY, 7th Duke,
Present Duke

CHAPTER XV

CONISBOROUGH

CONISBOROUGH or Coningsborough Castle is situated on the summit of the cliff which rises from the southern bank of the Don five miles to the south-west of Doncaster. Its leading feature, which puts it in the first rank of English castles, is the magnificent circular keep flanked by six boldly projecting buttresses, themselves terminating in turrets which rise above the battlements. This keep, the masonry of which is in excellent preservation, and in one or two weak spots has been judiciously repaired, still forms an imposing landmark in the surrounding country; but the effect would be greatly enhanced if the trees which now encumber the surrounding ditch and the upper part of the cliff were cleared away.

It may be inferred from the name that the place was once a royal possession, and it is possible that the kings of Northumbria may have had a residence or hall on the eminence afterwards occupied by the Norman castle. This eminence is about 175 feet in height, and about 400 yards distant from the river-bank; the top has been levelled, and scarped on all sides down to the bottom of a deep ditch, the counterscarp of which varies in height, and is for the greater



CONISBOROUGH, KEEP

part of its circumference surmounted by a bank. Here then we have every condition requisite for an early Norman palisaded fortress, such as would be erected by the Conqueror's son-in-law, the first Earl de Warrenne and Surrey. Or if, as is not unlikely, he was not the first to utilise a position naturally so strong, we may conclude that he merely adapted and improved a site which had already been an English stronghold, and before that a British fort. However this may be, the oldest masonry now remaining is clearly the keep, which may have been begun in the latter half of the twelfth century, and was perhaps not finished before the beginning of the thirteenth. At any rate, Mr. A. S. Ellis, at the time of the repairs five-and-twenty years ago, noticed that the ashlar work of the first-floor chamber was of an earlier character than that of the chambers above.

The keep projects into the inner ward of the castle at its north-east corner in such a way that its outer side forms part of the *enceinte*, the later curtain wall on either side having been built against it.¹ The only other examples of circular keeps in this country to rival it are those of Pembroke and Orford; but the former has no buttresses, and is built of undressed stone, and the latter, though it has three projecting buttress towers, is of ragstone with ashlar quoins only. Here the six massive buttresses and the regular courses of carefully dressed stone, so regular that they may be counted, put Conisborough at the head of all the towers of its kind within the four seas. The

¹ Clark (*M.M.A.* i. 448) thought that the curtain was the older, and that part of it was pulled down to make room for the keep, but this does not seem natural. The keep, from the point of view of defence, would be the Norman baron's first consideration.

battlements have gone, and the highest part that remains is about 90 feet from the ground, the lowest 20 feet of which forms a sloping base. At top of this battering plinth the diameter of the tower is 52 feet, and the buttresses project for another 8 feet, their width being at the point of attachment 14 feet 6 inches, and on their outer face 9 feet. The walls decrease in thickness from nearly 15 feet at the first-floor level to 12 feet 6 inches at the summit, and the only openings they contain of any size are the doorway, 20 feet above the ground, and two windows, one belonging to the second floor and one to the third. Thus the tower was well calculated to resist any assaults from the military engines of that day, while its rocky foundations secured it against the mine.

The entrance is on the south-east by the doorway just mentioned, and is now reached by a flight of external steps. Clark¹ thought that these steps had taken the place of an earlier flight of similar character, but separated from the door by a gap crossed by a drawbridge; but Mr. A. S. Ellis, with greater probability, for no traces of drawbridge remain, is of opinion that the door was reached by a long ladder, which when not in use could be drawn up into the lobby, the absence of any inner door to close its further end rendering this easy.

When this entrance door was closed the first-floor chamber must have been very dark, for it could only have received light from a trap-door in the floor above corresponding to the opening in its own floor into the dome-roofed basement, which contains the well. Together with the basement it could only have been used for stores, to the accommodation of which the

¹ *u.s.* p. 439.

lower stages of these keeps, whether round or square, are invariably dedicated, for only by the possession of ample supplies could a long period of siege be faced.

It should be said that the roof and all the floors except the dome of the basement have long disappeared, and the interior is open to the sky. At Pembroke all the floors have gone, but the domed roof of the tower remains.

From the right-hand side of the entrance passage a curved staircase ascends in the thickness of the wall to the second floor, whence access is now obtained along a ledge—which formerly supported the floor planks, themselves further supported by joists resting on corbels below the ledge—to a door nearly opposite, leading to another mural staircase which curves up to the third floor. The second floor usually contained the principal living room or hall of the keep. On the right as you enter is a large hooded fireplace supported on either side by clustered columns with late Norman capitals, and nearer still a square-headed recess containing a water-drain. Turning to the left, a small door is reached opening to a bent passage leading to a garderobe, and beyond this is a seated recess containing the two-light window immediately over the entrance to the tower. When viewed from outside this window is seen to have a flat lintel forming the base of a round arch, the tympanum of which consists of two plain stones. Beyond the window again the doorway to the third floor is entered. The arrangements of this floor correspond generally to the one below it; but its distinguishing feature is a beautiful oratory which has been contrived in the interior of the south-east buttress. To the left on entering from the staircase is a window which probably had

two lights like the one below, but the pillar which divided them and the whole of the tympanum are gone; and beyond this a hooded fireplace resembling the lower one, but of smaller size. The water-drain on the other side of it has a trefoiled head with cusps.

Immediately on the right is the door of the oratory, a small, vaulted chamber still perfect in its main features, and the most remarkable example of its period in England. It is divided by a vaulting rib ornamented with zigzag pattern into two parts, representing nave and chancel. Each of these portions is vaulted by four ribs meeting in a central boss, all the ribs, including the central one, springing from mural shafts. The east window is a loop splayed inwards, and is contained within an arch composed of chevrons and springing from short flanking columns. In each of the side walls is a small circular window worked into a quatrefoil on its outer face, and splayed inwards, and a piscina with a trefoiled head. All the shafts have capitals with Norman ornamentation. On the north side of the "nave" is an irregularly shaped vestry lighted by a loop.

Still farther to the right along the ledge is the door leading to a staircase ascending to the battlements and fourth floor. At the foot of this staircase, on the left, a zigzag passage leads to a garderobe, the seat of which rests upon a squinch thrown across between the wall and the north-east buttress, and visible from the outside of the curtain.

The fourth floor was a chamber in the roof, something like those which existed on the keep at Pembroke, and on Marten's tower at Chepstow. This chamber was surrounded externally by the

rampart walk, nearly blocked on the east by the hood which covers the top of the staircase, while outside projected the six turrets which formed the termination of the buttresses. These turrets were put to various uses, which according to Clark¹ were as follows: The southern one contained an oven, a circumstance which suggests that the roof chamber served as a kitchen; the next two westwards, which contain the remains of stairs leading to their battlements, were watch towers; the next two contained cisterns, each holding 650 gallons, and conveniently close to the kitchen. The staircase hood then blocks the way, having but a narrow passage between it and the battlements, by which the last turret immediately over the oratory is reached. This contains a three-sided, vaulted recess, the walls of which are pierced by numerous passages about 6 inches by 5, and which evidently served as a pigeon-house. The importance of these birds as an article of food in the Middle Ages is well known, and even church roofs or towers were sometimes adapted to their accommodation. As for the roof of the central chamber or kitchen, Clark's theory is that it was conical, and rose some 30 feet above the walls.

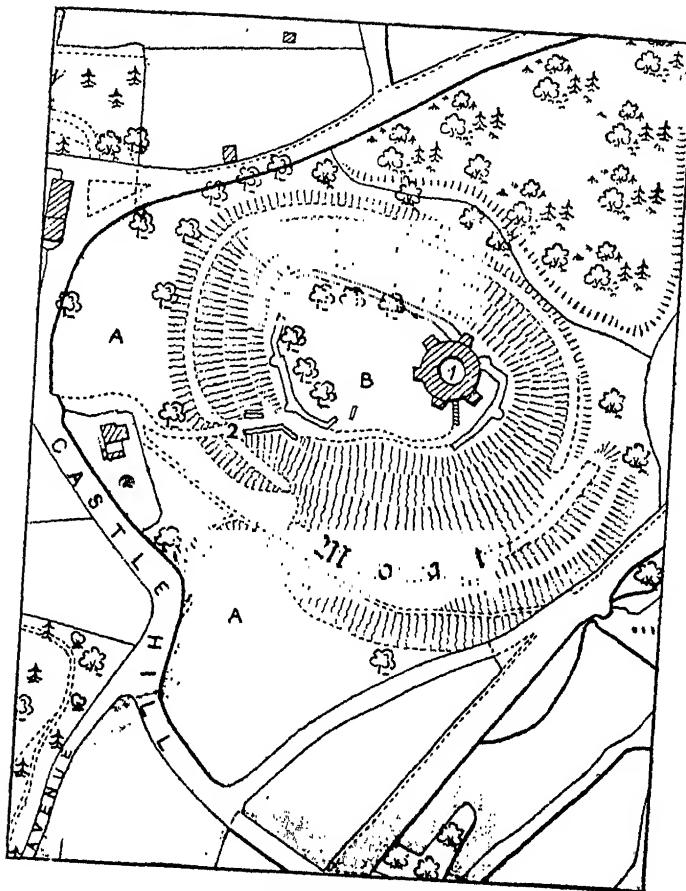
Such was the stronghold of the Earls de Warrenne in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As time went on it would cease to be an ordinary dwelling-place except under stress, and a hall, chapel, and other living rooms would be built against the curtain of the ward. All these buildings have now disappeared, but they appear to have stood on the three sides opposite the keep. The ward itself covers the whole of the levelled top of the hill; its curtain is in a most

¹ *u.s.* p. 445.

dilapidated state, much overburdened with ivy, and in some places, especially on the south, altogether gone. Its exterior was faced with ashlar, and on the southern half of its oblong circumference are the remains of five solid round, or rather half-round, towers, with battering bases, and resembling those at Corfe. The entrance was at the south-west corner, where the ditch was crossed by a drawbridge, now replaced by a solid causeway. The bridge was lowered from a gatehouse, of which only fragments of the side walls remain, and the way thence led up the slope between the curtain on the left and a flanking wall on the right till it passed into the ward through an archway. Thus it would be commanded throughout from the battlements of the curtain.

The only approach to the castle lay across an extensive outwork covering the drawbridge and gatehouse. This was a platform defended by a low bank and surrounded by a branch from the main ditch : where it was entered from without there may have been some kind of barbican. The bank was probably palisaded, and the enclosure would serve as a pasturage for cattle, which could be driven within the castle walls in case of alarm.

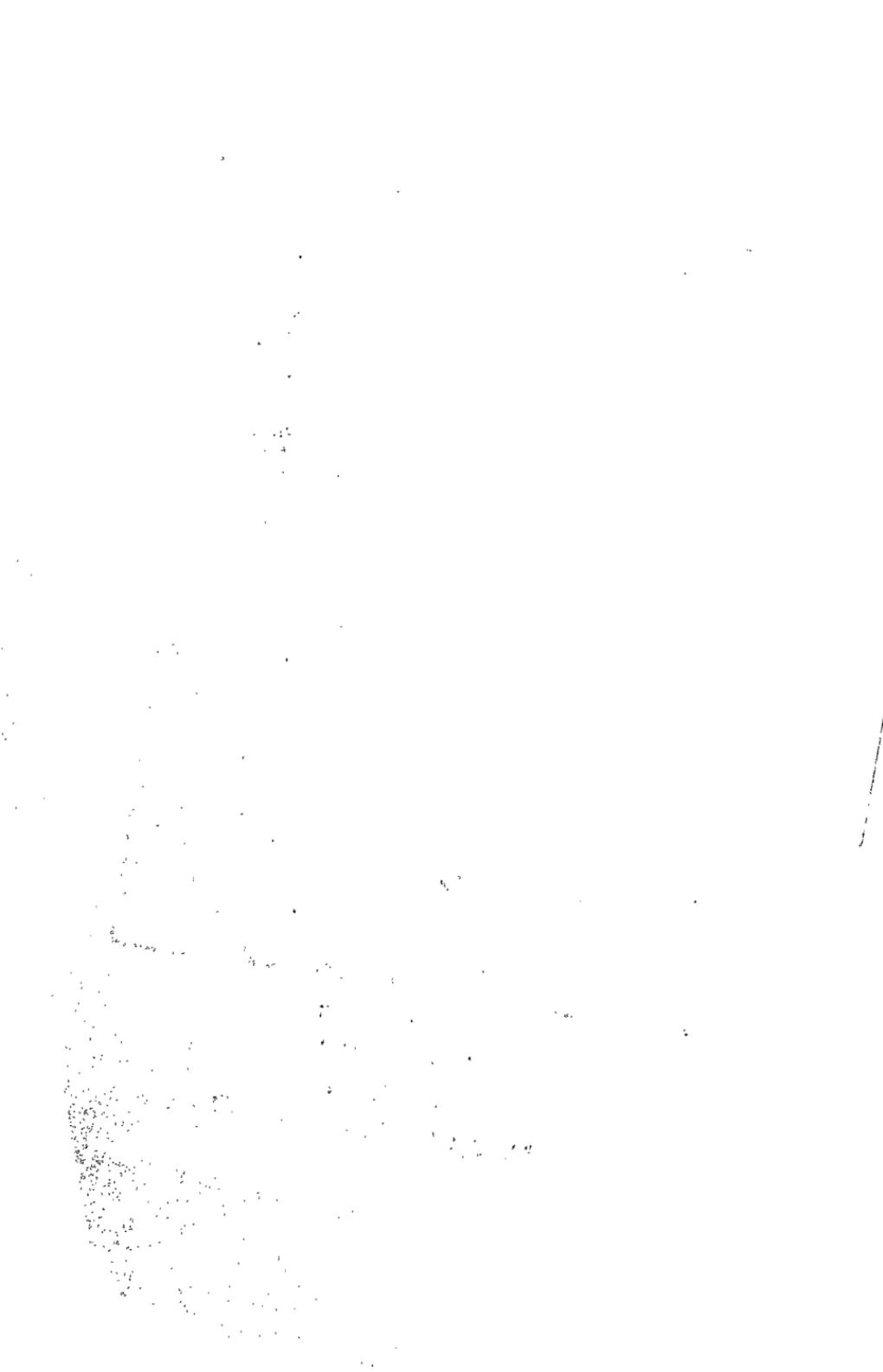
Little is known of the history of the castle. On the death of the last Earl de Warrenne and Surrey in 1347, it was held by the King, who bestowed it on his fifth son Edmund, Duke of York. Edmund's younger son, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, called Richard of Conisborough from his birth at the castle, was executed at Southampton in 1415, but his widow was allowed to reside here till her death in 1446, after which it seems to have been allowed to go to ruin. With the accession of Richard's grandson to the throne as



CONISBOROUGH

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—INNER WARD
- 1.—KEEP
- 2.—GATEHOUSE

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Edward IV, the castle passed to the Crown, "and nothing," says Clark, "has generally proved more fatal to an independent historic estate than its absorption by the Crown." In 1538, less than a century later, it appears from a survey made by order of Henry VIII that, with the exception of the keep, the castle was already in a ruinous state. In the keep two out of the three wooden floors were still standing, but these were burnt at some subsequent period, perhaps by order of the Parliament after the Civil War. Elizabeth granted the castle to Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon, and in 1737 it was sold to the Duke of Leeds, from whom it has descended to its present owner, the Baroness Fauconberg and Conyers (Countess of Yarborough).

CHAPTER XVI

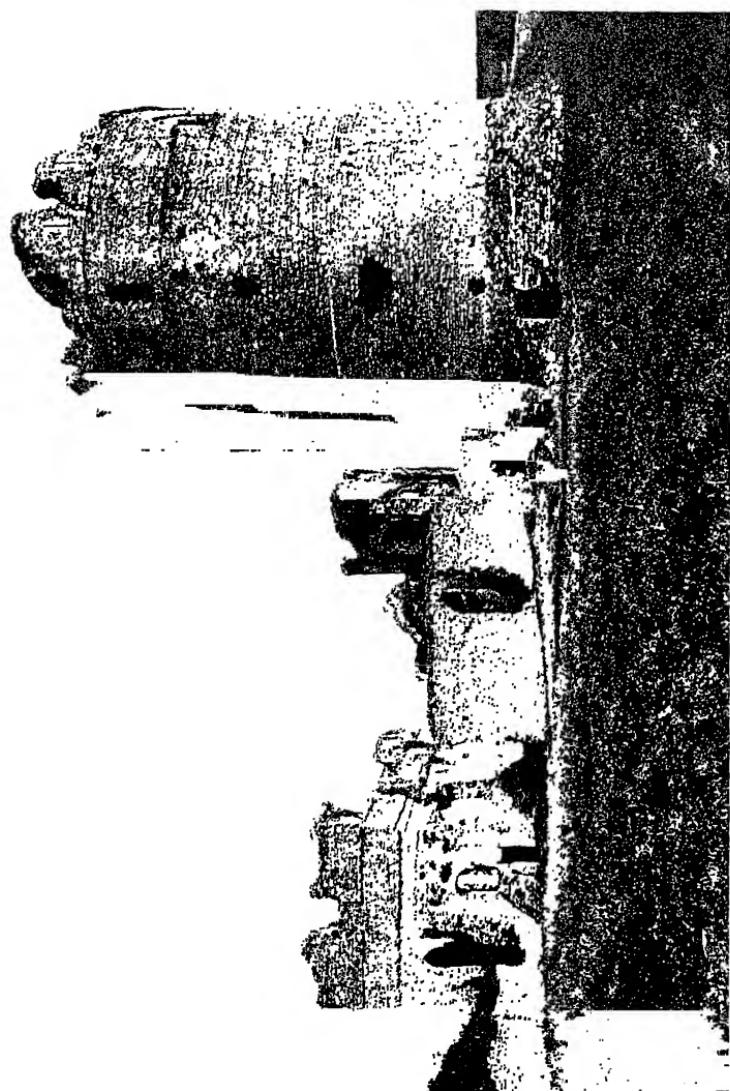
PEMBROKE

PEMBROKE CASTLE stands on a rocky promontory about four acres in extent, which juts out in a north-westerly direction between the Pembroke River and Monkton Pill. Its curtain follows the edge of the rocks, and on the south side, towards the town—across the neck of the promontory, that is—was defended by a dry ditch. The castle consists of two wards, the inner ward, as at Ludlow, being the original building, and the outer ward a later addition.

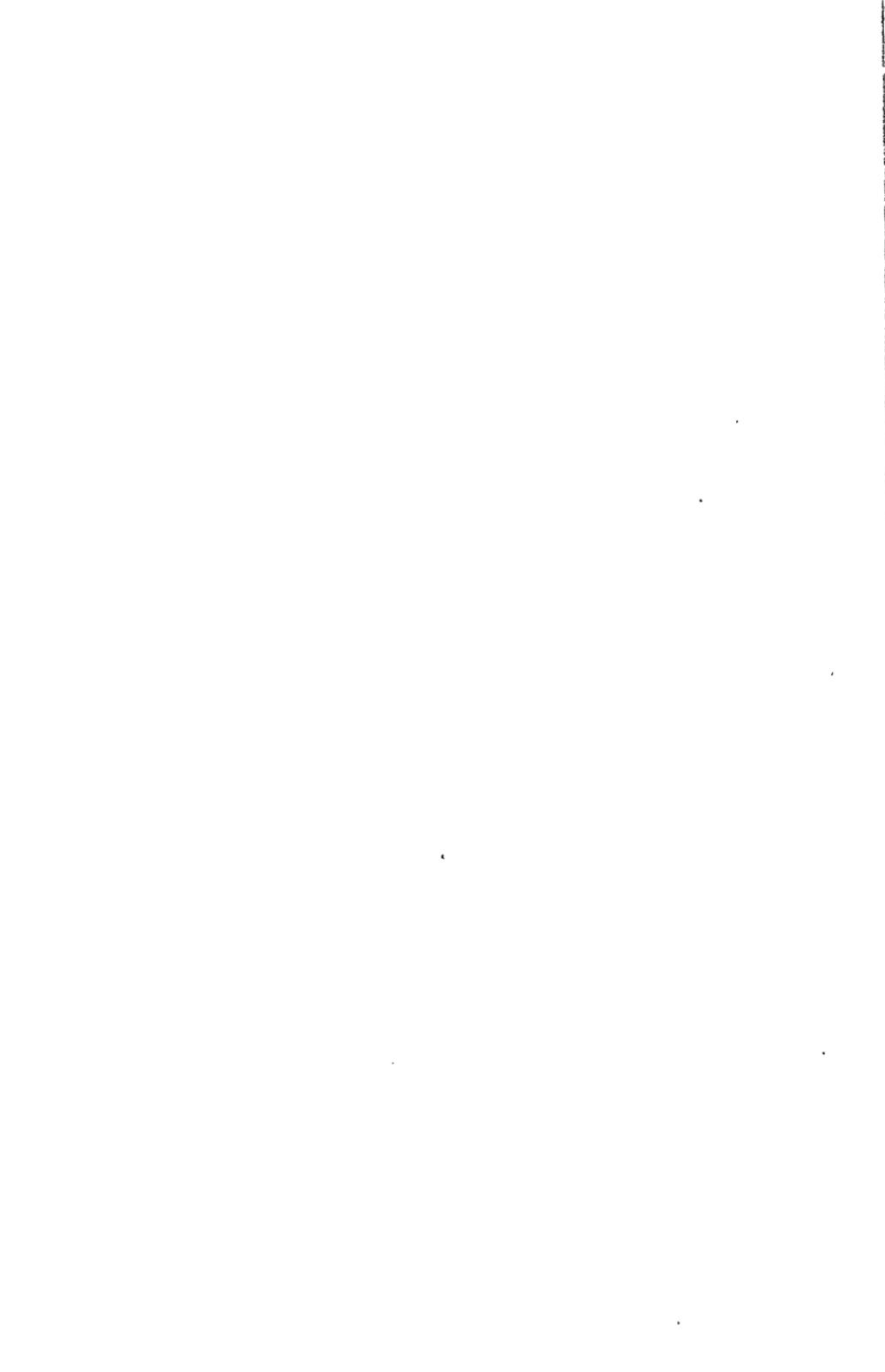
The inner ward contains the most conspicuous feature of the whole castle, namely the great circular donjon or keep, 75 feet high, of which the late Mr. J. R. Cobb, father of the present owner of the castle, wrote that no parallel to it can be found, and that the ideas of its founders must have resembled those of the builders of the Great Pyramid. “It rises from the bare rock with no mound¹ or buttress as at Conisborough, without any internal vaulting or arcading as at Coucy or Falaise.”² It consisted of a basement and three storeys, but now that the floors of these are gone, the

¹ This is inaccurate; there is no artificial mound at Conisborough, where the keep is also based directly upon the rock.

² See his exhaustive paper on the castle in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1883, 4th Series, vol. xiv.



PEMBROKE, KEEP



interior has the appearance of a huge plastered cylinder covered at the top by a stone dome. As the walls rise they uniformly incline inwards, so that while the diameter of the tower at the base is 58 feet, at the summit it is only 48 feet. This process is aided by two sets-off dividing the tower into stages. From the fact that it contains no well, no recess except that of a small window in each of the two upper chambers, no garderobe, and no drain, Mr. Cobb thought that it could never have served as the chief residence of the defenders of the castle; but that it was mainly designed as a watch tower and receptacle for stores. A small round tower which formerly crowned the dome must have commanded an extensive prospect in every direction, while the two upper stories would form the temporary quarters of the parties relieving each other on the watch. It must be remembered, too, that in a low-lying situation the height of the keep was of special importance in order to obtain the earliest intimation of the approach of an enemy, while when an attack had once been opened missiles might be discharged with great effect from the battlements, as well as from a hoard just below them, the holes for which still exist.

We have already seen that in the last half of the twelfth century the round tower was taking the place of the earlier square keep both in France and England,¹ but exactly where the builder of Pembroke, whoever he was—Clare or Marshal—got his idea we cannot tell; he was at any rate no stranger to the latest style, and saw that a tower of the simplest construction would answer his purpose and soonest give him what he most wanted, a combination of height

¹ P. 17.

and strength. This practical object appears also in the almost entire absence of ornament and elaboration. There is not even a stair turret, and the vice ascends in the thickness of the wall from a door in the basement to the several storeys and to the roof. Originally the rooms could only be reached by this stair, but external stairs, which communicated by means of doorways cut in the wall with the first and second floors, were afterwards added to the face of the tower about 10 feet from the ground. These stairs may have been reached from the adjacent curtain by a drawbridge or from the ground by a movable ladder. The only attempt at ornamentation is in the windows of the second and third floors ; they are of two lights each, and the jambs of the lower one are studded with quatrefoils. The summit of the tower is formed into three ramparts, one within the other, the innermost of which surrounded the watch tower.

The rock on which this great tower stands is the mountain limestone used in its construction, the stones being rough-hewn and roughly laid ; the only ashlar work, in Mr. Cobb's opinion of Caen stone, was that used for the window dressings and the steps of the vice ; the latter have been torn away, and a single one only has been discovered in a rubbish heap.

The original castle, afterwards the inner ward, was defended on the land side by a curtain of which only a few traces now remain. Starting from a building on the west, sometimes called the western hall, it terminates against the south-western angle of the great building that rises from the north cliff. Near its western end it had on its outer face the Horseshoe Gate-tower, which formed the main entrance to the original castle, and near its eastern end the Prison

tower. The existence of the Horseshoe tower was formerly unsuspected, but its foundations were uncovered by Mr. Cobb in 1881. From the waterside it was approached from Monkton Pill by a narrow way cut in rock, afterwards filled in and crossed by the curtain of the outer ward. From this tower the curtain passed very close to the keep, but did not touch it. Beyond the Prison tower a modern gap has been made, and all along its outer face was a ditch, now filled up.

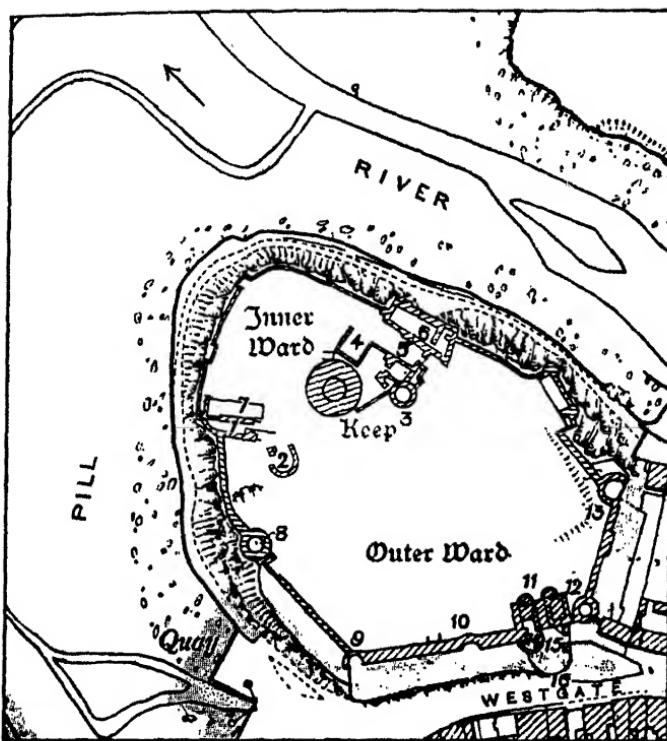
Between the north-east side of the keep and the cliff is an oblong building with later alterations, including a tall chimney shaft, which Mr. Cobb thinks was the Chancery and Exchequer of the earldom, and south-east of this are the two halls—the north hall at the edge of the cliff, and the earlier hall on its inner side: both halls had basements beneath them, and the earlier one had a high-pitched roof, the later a flat roof covered with lead.¹ This north hall when viewed from the river is a fine, strong building, forming part of the curtain, with square turrets at the four corners. In the upper part are two handsome pointed windows of two lights each, and at the bottom is a wide doorway leading into a large cavern in the rock, locally known as the Wogan, the upper part of which is lighted by a beautiful window blocked up till 1881. At its right-hand corner on entering was a vice leading up to the west end of the hall. The east end, which projects into the outer ward, was partitioned off in both stories (basement and hall) to form small chambers and garderobes.

¹ The earlier hall may be assigned to the beginning, and the later hall to the end of the thirteenth century. *Archaeological Journal*, 2nd series, vol. xviii. p. 410.

North of the so-called western hall on the other side of the castle was a building lying east and west, 60 feet by 20; this Mr. Cobb identifies with the Chapel of St. Nicholas, which Arnulf de Montgomery—the first Norman to occupy this site—is recorded to have given to the Norman abbey of Sayes; and suggests that the "western hall" then formed the dwelling of the priest in charge. Round the edge of the cliff to the north is a thin wall, which perhaps only represents the inner casing of a thicker one.

The outer ward is four times as large as the inner; its outline is roughly pentagonal. Starting from the Monkton postern on the west, which opens into the narrow way cut in the rock, the towers are the Monkton, West Gate, Central, Gatehouse, Town, and North Gate, and between this last and the north hall are the Mills bastion and St. Ann's bastion. As at Conway and Carnarvon, the castle forms one end of the enclosure of the town walls, the north gate and west gate of which gave their names to the adjacent towers. The gatehouse has been much damaged on its outer face; towards the ward it is tolerably perfect, and is flanked by two projecting drum towers, between which, about 25 feet from the ground, a curious battlemented flying arch has been inserted, perhaps as late as the seventeenth century, called by Clark¹ "a sort of shield or blindage," and by Cobb "the ugly flying penthouse." It seems to have been intended as an additional defence in case of an attack on the gatehouse from the ward. The whole gatehouse is 60 feet high on its inner, but only 48 feet on its outer face; it is 60 feet broad and 42 feet deep. The entrance passage was strongly guarded

¹ *Earls, Earldom, and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 128

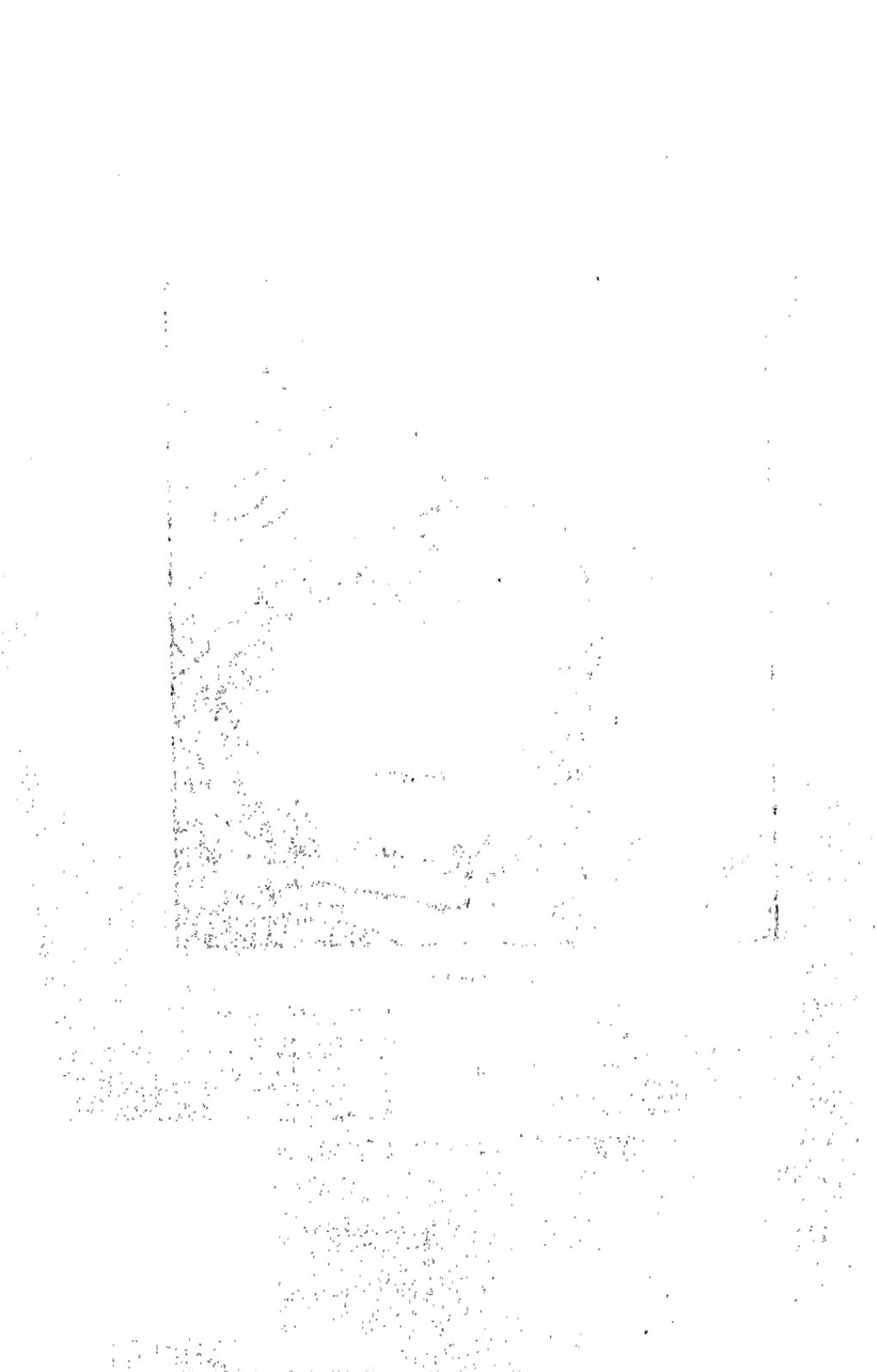


PEMBROKE

- 1.—WESTERN HALL
- 2.—HORSESHOE TOWER
- 3.—PRISON TOWER
- 4.—EXCHEQUER
- 5.—EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY HALL
- 6.—NORTH HALL
- 7.—ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL
- 8.—MONKTON TOWER

- 9.—WEST GATE TOWER
- 10.—CENTRAL TOWER
- 11.—GREAT GATEHOUSE
- 12.—TOWN TOWER
- 13.—NORTH GATE TOWER
- 14.—BYGATE TOWER
- 15.—BARBICAN
- 16.—FOSS BASTION

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the
sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*



with portcullises and gates : on either side are lodges, and above are two storeys of handsome rooms. The drum towers contain the vices. The curtain between the gatehouse and the Monkton tower has been thickened on the inner side, possibly in the time of Glyndwr, and this thickening has blocked the inner loops of the two mural galleries which the original wall contained. In the eastern curtain there is also a passage opening from the Town tower and leading to a garderobe.

In front of the main entrance there were outworks which have been restored by Mr. Cobb. These are the Bygate tower, which projected in front of the west side of the gatehouse ; opposite this, to the east, the barbican, and thirdly the Foss bastion, fronting the ditch. Thus a party entering the castle, after crossing the ditch by an arched bridge, of which Mr. Cobb found remains, found themselves confronted by the barbican on their left : entering this by a drawbridge, they found themselves in a small court with the Bygate tower facing them, the main entrance on their right, and the concave side of the Foss bastion on their left—an arrangement resembling that of the entrances to Conway and Beaumaris.

Pembroke gives its name to an earldom which has always been one of the most distinguished in the kingdom, and whose holders have almost always taken a part in the affairs of the country. Till abolition of the March and the complete incorporation of the Principality with England under Henry VIII, the county of Pembroke held the rank of a palatinate¹ administered by its earls, and down to the close of

¹ Queen Ann Boleyn, who was created Marchioness of Pembroke in 1532, was the last of the Palatine peers.

and in about three weeks the garrison found themselves in sore straits for provisions. "Poyer hath engaged himself to the Officers of the town," wrote Cromwell to the Speaker, "not to keep the castle longer than the town can hold out. Neither indeed can he, for we can take away his water in two days, by beating down a staircase, which goes into a cellar [the Wogan, where there was at that time a spring] where he hath a well. They allow the men half-a-pound of beef, and as much bread a day; but it is almost spent."¹ There was another water supply even more easily cut off; this was "Norgan's well," about a mile to the south, from which the water was conducted by pipes across Monkton Pill. Nevertheless the besieged still held out, for Cromwell had no heavy guns to batter the walls. Some had been sent from Wallingford by way of Gloucester and the Severn estuary, but they were stranded at Berkeley owing to the difficulties of navigation. At last, at the beginning of July, they reached the leaguer, and were at once brought into play with so much effect that on the 10th Cromwell sent the following ultimatum to Poyer:

"SIR,

I have (together with my Council of War) renewed my propositions; I thought fit to send them to you with these alterations, which if submitted unto I shall make good. I have considered your condition and my own duty: and (without threatening) must tell you that if (for the sake of some) this offer be refused, and thereby misery and ruin befall the poor soldiers and people with you, I know where to charge the

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter LIX.

blood you spill. I expect your answer within these two hours. In case this offer be refused, send no more to me about this subject. I rest your servant

OL. CROMWELL "¹

This missive produced the desired effect, and the next day Poyer surrendered. Those of his officers who had always been for the King were allowed to go into exile for two years. Poyer, Laugharne, and Rice Powell, another old Parliamentary officer who had joined in the insurrection, were sent up to London, tried by court martial, and sentenced to death. This sentence, however, was only carried out in one instance: three lots, two bearing the words "Life given by God," were drawn by a child. The blank fell to Poyer, who was accordingly shot on the Piazza in Covent Garden on April 21st, 1649.

The castle was "slighted," and for the next 200 years used as a quarry by the surrounding population. As we have seen, it was rescued from further disaster by Mr. Cobb. Many parts of it, however, are still unfortunately a prey to the inevitable ivy.

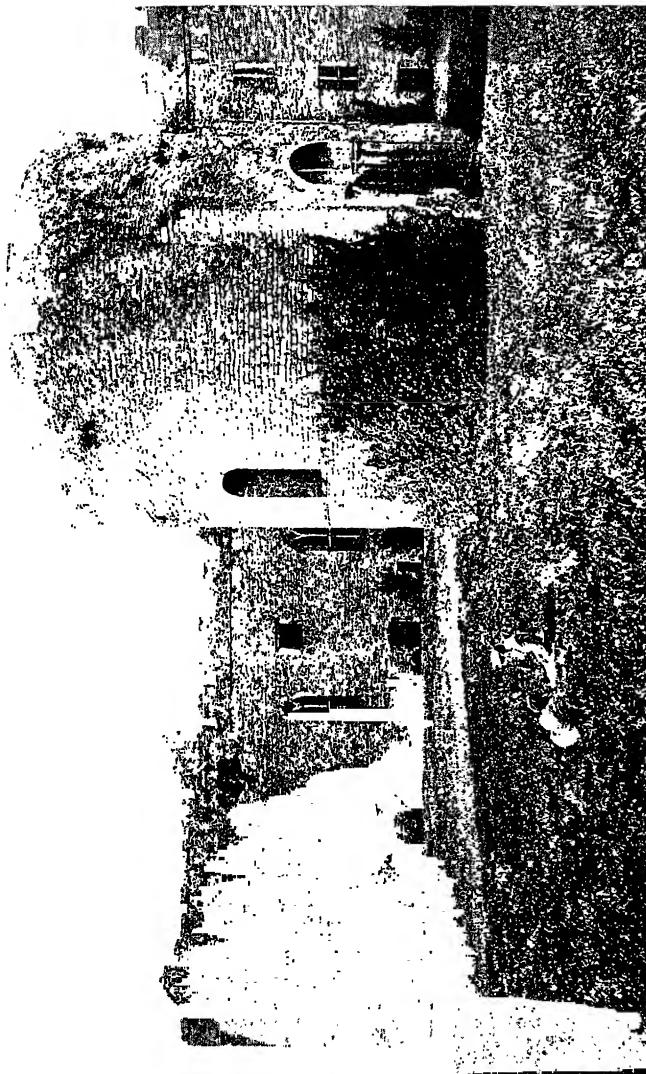
¹ J. R. Phillips, *Civil War in Wales and the Marches*, 2nd ed., p. 414.
Not in Carlyle.

CHAPTER XVII

LUDLOW

LUDLOW castle occupies a rocky platform with steep slopes to the north and west, and commanding the valleys of the Teme, the Onny, and the Corve. On the east and south sides it was separated from the town which grew up under its walls by a deep ditch excavated in the solid rock. Its area covers about five acres and is divided into an inner and outer bailey. The inner bailey, representing the original Norman castle, has roughly the shape of a quadrant and is enclosed by a curtain provided with rectangular towers. To the north and west this curtain crowns the natural declivities; the east and south sides, forming the arc of the quadrant, are surrounded by a deep fosse.

Such was the castle as originally planned about 1090, but a century later what now became an outer bailey was added on the outer side of the arc. It was nearly three times the size of the original enclosure, and the whole area now assumed the shape of an irregular square. The inner bailey always remained the principal stronghold, and though most of its original buildings have given place to later ones, the great gatehouse in its altered form and the circular nave of the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene are still standing.



LUDLOW, HALL, AND CHAPEL.



The great tower which stands immediately on the west of the entrance to the inner bailey was described by Clark¹ as a keep, and in the absence of any other tower of the kind it may well have served as such, but its true history was first revealed in 1903 when Mr. St. John Hope carried out excavations in front of its northern face which enabled him to trace clearly the successive alterations which resulted in its present appearance.

At present the interior of the tower consists of a basement, and three upper stories approached by a newel staircase or vice in the north-east corner. The large room on each story has a smaller chamber with adjacent garderobes opening out of it on the west side, and a turret chamber of small dimensions in the south-east corner. On the ground floor the west side is occupied by the wardrobe pit, and the east side by the porter's lodge and the entrance to the vice.

The basement is now entered from the north by a flight of modern steps descending from a doorway at the ground level, and is lighted only by a fifteenth-century window to the west of the door. At the south end of the east wall are two square-headed doorways opening into a passage contrived in the thickness of the wall and roofed with stone slabs, and north of these are two arches of a wall arcade, which was evidently continued still farther north through the abutment of the present north wall. It was this arcade which gave Mr. St. John Hope the clue to his discoveries, for it was clear that the original north wall of the tower, if it was not to interfere with the arcade, must have stood farther out. He accordingly commenced his excavations outside the present wall, and at a distance of

¹ *M.M.A.* ii. 276 ff.

about 12 feet from it he came upon the foundations of an archway which evidently opened into the tower on this side. The archway had however been built up at a later period, and the lower part of the blocking remained between the jambs of the arch. But this was not all; in a line with the interior arcade the northernmost base of its continuation was uncovered, and just to the east of it was the beginning of a flight of steps which led up through the thickness of the eastern wall of the tower to the first floor. Here was one fact established, namely that the original north entrance to the basement had been through an archway in the destroyed north wall. The next step was the discovery of the traces of a similar archway in the opposite and still existing south wall, where its presence had been disguised by taking out the stones of the arch and bonding the blocking into the jambs. This southern and outer archway was no doubt closed with doors, and on its inner side was a porch about 8 feet deep, itself terminating in an arch also closed by doors, of which a shaft may still be seen on its east side. These inner doors stood between the two square-headed doorways to the wall passage already noticed, so that it would be possible to pass from the interior round into the porch without opening the inner doors—a passage which would be less easily rushed than a wicket in these doors themselves, and which would also serve as a sally-port. The archway in the northern wall leading into the bailey was left open, and thus the original purpose of this structure stands revealed; it was clearly the entrance passage of a gatehouse, and was reached from outside by a bridge across the ditch, a short distance to the west of the present one.

For some forty years after its erection this gatehouse seems to have remained unfinished, perhaps because the attention of the builders was diverted to the chapel and other buildings to the north, but about 1130 the work was again taken in hand and the tower completed. Later still, about a hundred years after its foundation, it was resolved that the basement of the tower should no longer serve as the entrance to the castle but should be converted into a prison. To effect this the archways at either end were walled up, and the space between them, which probably had a flat ceiling originally, was covered with a vault containing openings, through which the prisoners could be lowered and supplied with food. Lastly, about 1480—300 years later, that is—the north wall of the tower either fell or was destroyed, and was then rebuilt as it now stands, some 12 feet to the south of the old one. This rebuilding of course involved fresh arrangements for reaching the upper storeys, and the vice in the north-eastern angle was now made. As for the earlier devices for this purpose, the entrance to the mural stairs had been closed when the archways were blocked, and a flight of steps then constructed against the west face of the tower was now destroyed. The closing of the original entrance about the year 1180 of course involved the opening of a new one, and the present gateway was cut in the Norman curtain just to the east of the old one. From this time, too, dates the lower part of this gateway tower; its upper part is a Tudor alteration.

If the visitor now takes a few steps westward from the gate, he will be confronted by the exterior or southern face of the great tower. This was the cross-piece of a T-shaped building, in the angles of which

additional rooms were afterwards built. The front is divided into three unequal parts by a stringcourse below and a set-off above. In the lowest stage two square seventeenth-century windows, one above the other, have been inserted in the blockings of the gateway arch, but these are now walled up. Over them, just above the stringcourse, are the jambs and head of what was a two-light Elizabethan or Stuart window lighting the large chamber on the first floor, and over it, one above the other, are the large fifteenth-century windows of the second and third floors, the upper one cutting through the set-off. East and west of the first floor window are the two Norman windows opening into the turrets, but the eastern one has been widened and lengthened and now cuts through the stringcourse. Above these again are loops, the western one lighting a small vice connecting the second and third floors, and the eastern one a room now walled up. The north face of the tower, which is seen from the tower court, is the side rebuilt in the fifteenth century, with the exception of a strip on the west from the floor of the third storey to the ground. This third floor, says Mr. St. John Hope, "was originally an open court which enclosed and concealed the high-pitched roof of the Norman tower, the weathering of which is still visible on the south wall and along the east and west sides. On the rebuilding of the north end it was converted into a room."¹

Altogether Mr. Hope's examination of this tower is a palmary example of the results that may be attained by the careful study of an ancient building, aided where necessary by the spade. But the eye of the visitor who enters the inner bailey for the first time will be

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. lxi. (1908).

attracted by the circular nave of the Norman Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. Standing alone as it does, free from the surrounding masonry, there is nothing at first sight to suggest that it ever had any connecting links with it. A closer examination will however show that this was the case. It is probable that the walls of this rotunda were originally rather lower and terminated in a conical roof like its sister churches at London and Cambridge, but a low roof subsequently took its place, and the walls were then raised and battlemented as we see them at present. The entrance is on the west side through a handsome doorway of three orders with flanking shafts in the angles, of which one remains. The innermost arch is composed of a series of wedge-shaped stones ornamented on the outer face with a series of chevrons; the centre one has a plain beading, and the outermost is of chevrons beneath a dripstone of alternate billets. Opposite this on the east is the chancel arch, of a similar character, but still more enriched. Round the interior on each side of the entrance is an arcade of seven round-headed arches resting on a low bench-table. Above, on the south-west and north, are three round-headed windows. The eastern arch opened into a chancel 12 feet square with a semi-octagonal apse, the outline of which is now marked by stone posts driven into the turf. This chancel did not extend to the curtain wall, but in the time of Sir Henry Sidney it was taken down and replaced by another, the east end of which abutted upon the curtain, as is evident from existing marks. At the same time a floor was put up in the nave at the window level, dividing it into a basement and upper story, both open on the side of the chancel. A corridor with a gallery over it, of which nothing now remains,

was also built connecting the chapel with the buildings on the north. Through the gallery the "quality" entered the upper floor of the chapel by the north window, then altered to make a doorway, and by the corridor the domestics entered the basement by a doorway cut in one of the wall arcades.

The buildings on the north side of the inner bailey contained the principal living rooms. The greater part of these, extending from the north-west corner eastwards as far as the site of the chapel gallery, is of late thirteenth- or of fourteenth-century date, while the block to the east of this, terminated by the Norman curtain, are Elizabethan. The most important of these buildings is the great hall (in which *Comus* is said to have been performed), with a cellar beneath it. The hall itself was approached from the bailey by a flight of steps leading up to a doorway in the western corner, and was lighted on the side of the bailey by three tall, transomed windows of two lights each. The two outermost of these remain, but the centre one has been blocked in Tudor times by a fireplace with a square-headed window cut in the wall above it. On the north side are three deeply splayed windows of one light each, opening to the field. The dais was at the east end, and at the west was the usual screen with the entrance passage behind it. On the west side of this passage was the entrance to the solar.

The Solar block is a three-storied building projecting slightly from the plane of the hall and entered by a door on the left at the top of the hall stairs. In the soffit of the basement window are painted the device and initials of the Earl of Northampton, who was President of the Council of Wales 1617-1630. The first-floor room has two plain windows of different

sizes looking south, and also a doorway in the north-west corner opening into a skewed passage leading to a garderobe tower added outside in the angle of the Norman tower and the curtain. The second floor has a fine two-light window in the south wall and another in the west wall.

The buildings to the east of the great hall consist of a fourteenth-century block projecting southward from the line of the hall, and an Elizabethan block to the east of it in almost the same line as the hall. The "great chamber"¹ which occupies the first floor is lighted by a broad, transomed Elizabethan window to the south, and an earlier two-light window to the west, while to the north of the latter is a doorway opening on to the hall dais. In the south-east corner a doorway has been cut to open into the chapel gallery. The room over the great chamber has a window to the west which has lost all its tracery, and of another window to the south only the transom is left.

Projecting from the exterior of the curtain to the north of the great chamber and the lodgings to the east of it, is the large fourteenth-century garderobe tower which forms such a striking object when the northern side of the castle is viewed from outside. It is oblong in plan, being set lengthways against the wall, and contains four storeys of bedrooms and garderobes communicating with the larger rooms in the adjacent buildings.

The Elizabethan block to the east of the great chamber consists of three storeys with attics above. The upper rooms are approached by a vice, the semi-circular containing wall of which projects into the bailey.

¹ The Great Chamber is frequently mentioned in domestic accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: it seems to have signified the principal sitting-room, and to have been the successor of the earlier solar.

The court of the great tower occupies the south-western angle of the bailey. Its north and east walls belong to the thirteenth century, and against the outer side of the former is the kitchen, the west side of which, containing the fireplace, was destroyed by the fall of the chimney. It is of the same date as the hall. In the sixteenth century a second fireplace was added on the south side, and outside, to the north, a bakehouse for pastry, now destroyed. In the south-west corner of the tower court, in the basement of the tower which gets its name from it, is the great oven, and in its north-west corner the well, which seems to have formed the only water supply till Sir Henry Sidney constructed a fountain in the centre of the bailey, the foundations of which were discovered by Mr. St. John Hope. It was fed by pipes from a spring more than a mile away from the castle.

Against the curtain to the east of the gatehouse is a range of Tudor buildings, which contained a handsome set of rooms said to have been occupied by the four judges of the King's Great Sessions in Wales, when they attended the Council of Wales and the Marches, and east of this again some buildings of a later date, now pulled down.

Quitting the inner bailey and crossing the bridge, the visitor will notice above the gateway a niche flanked by pilasters, containing at the top the royal arms, with this inscription :

ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO QVINGE
NTESIMO OCTVAGESIMO CÖPLETO
ANNO REGNI ILLVSTRISSIMÆ AC
SERENISSIMÆ REGINÆ
ELIZABETHÆ · VICESIMQ · TERTIO
CVRRENTE 1581.

Under this are the arms of Sir Henry Sidney, with the inscription :

HOMINIBVS · INGRATIS · LOQVIMINI ·
 LAPIDES · ANO · REGNI · REGINÆ ·
 ELYZABETÆ · 23 · THE 22TH · YEAR ·
 CÖMPLLET · OF · THE · PRESIDENCY ·
 OF · SIR · HENRI · SIDNEY · KNIGHT · OF · T-E ·
 MOST · NOBLE · ORDER · OF · THE · GARTER · ET · C · 1581.

The outer bailey is entered by a gatehouse situated near the centre of the east side, where the ditch was in all probability originally crossed by a drawbridge, but in Sir Henry Sidney's time (1559-1586) by a stone bridge resting upon arches, all traces of which have been concealed by the filling up of the ditch. The only other projection on this side is a square tower to the north of the gatehouse, now incorporated with a private house.

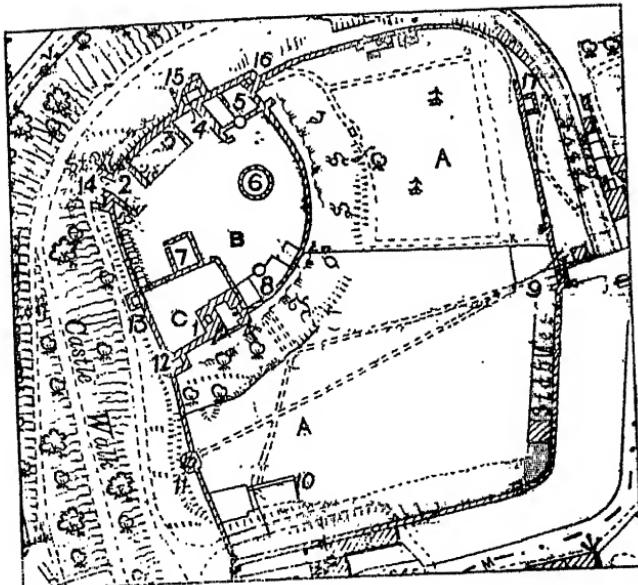
To the south of the gateway a row of Elizabethan buildings containing the porter's lodgings, with a series of rooms used as prisons, and farther along, adjoining these, a stable of the Stuart period. Projecting eastward from the west curtain are some ruined buildings, the narrower and eastern portion of which was the fourteenth-century Chapel of St. Peter, but in Sir Henry Sidney's time it was divided into two stories, the upper being used as the Courthouse for the Court of the Marches, and the lower as record rooms.

In 1772 public walks were constructed all round the exterior of the castle. On the west and north sides they are carried along the steep declivities of the rocky platform on which the castle stands, on the other two sides they follow the course of the filled-up ditch. Unfortunately these walks and declivities have been planted with trees, and the view of the castle

from the surrounding country thereby seriously impeded. Were the trees swept away the view from Whitcliff across the river of the long line of the curtain and towers rising boldly from the rock would be seen as it deserves.

The exterior may now be described. If the visitor starts from the entrance and walks round the south-east angle, he will find that the south-west corner of the outer bailey is cut off by a modern wall and that the path passes outside this through two openings cut in the original wall. He is then confronted by a semicircular tower of great height, having a row of projecting corbels near the summit, intended to carry the timbers of a hoard. This tower, called Mortimer's, is of the thirteenth century ; its inner face is flat, and has but a slight projection into the bailey.

The next tower, situated at the corner of the inner bailey, is the Oven tower, the wall of which on this side is flush with the curtain and is provided with two or three loops ; it also has the shoot of a garderobe, corbelled out at some distance from the base. Farther on is the Postern tower, boldly projecting from the curtain ; its north face, which is in a line with the north wall of the court of the great tower, contains a postern door. Before the Norman tower, which forms the north-western angle of the enceinte, comes into view, the later Garderobe tower, filling up the angle facing the visitor, is seen. This must not be confused with the great Garderobe tower, projecting from the north face of the castle farther on. The north-western tower opens out of the Solar block, and from this point, where the wall turns to the right, as far as the eastern side of the great garderobe tower, the upper part of the wall is of the same date as the hall.



LUDLOW

A.—OUTER BAILEY

B.—INNER BAILEY

C.—TOWER COURT

1.—GREAT TOWER

2.—SOLAR

3.—HALL

4.—GREAT CHAMBER

5.—ELIZABETHAN BLOCK

6.—CHAPEL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE

7.—KITCHEN

8.—TUDOR BUILDINGS

9.—OUTER GATEHOUSE

10.—CHAPEL OF ST. PETER

11.—MORTIMER'S TOWER

12.—OVEN TOWER

13.—POSTERN TOWER

14.—NORTHWEST TOWER

15.—GREAT GARDEROBE TOWER

16.—NORTHEAST TOWER

17.—SQUARE TOWER

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the
sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*



Before reaching the great Garderobe tower, there is a slight four-sided turret containing a vice. The tower itself, with its bold projection, is very imposing: the northern face is divided into three unequal portions by set-offs, and pierced by loops and narrow windows lighting the garderobes and chambers. Eastwards the curtain contains windows of a larger size opening from the Tudor building, and then comes the tower, at the north-east corner of the inner bailey, of Norman date below, but with a topmost stage of fourteenth-century work. Beyond this point the wall is continued for about 200 feet, when it turns southwards, reaches the square Norman tower already mentioned, and is then continued to the main entrance.

The early history of Ludlow, like that of the other Border fortresses, relates to the quarrels of its lords with their neighbours, their rebellions against their sovereign, and the confiscation and subsequent restoration of their estates. For the rest, as the neighbouring castle of Wigmore is identified with the Mortimers, and that of Clun with the FitzAlans, so Ludlow is identified with the Lacy's. The Lacy's came in with the Conqueror in the person of Walter de Lacy, who lived till 1085. It was his son, Roger de Lacy, a man possessed of large estates on the March, the memory of which is preserved by such names as Stanton Lacy, near Ludlow, and Ewias Lacy, under the Black Mountains, who founded the castle. On his rebellion, ten years after his father's death, he was succeeded by his brother Hugh, the founder of the Priory of Llanthony, on the Honddu, and he, in his turn, was followed about 1121 by his sister's son, Gilbert, who took the name of de Lacy and was dead by 1163.

It is not a very wild guess that each of these three

Lacys had their share in the building of the castle. To Roger and his brother may be assigned the inner bailey as it originally stood, with the gatehouse (now the great tower), the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, with its apsidal choir, and probably other buildings on the north side, afterwards replaced; to Gilbert and his son Hugh (died 1185), the addition of outer bailey and the alteration in the entrance to the inner one.

Little is known of the actual events connected with the castle during this period (1085-1185), and such as are recorded have been thrown into the shade by a romance, written a century later, which professes to be a history of the family of FitzWarin. This romance contains a story, often retold, to the following effect.

On the occasion of one of the confiscations of the castle, the king—Stephen at this time—placed it in the charge of a Breton knight, one Joce de Dinan. Between him and the dispossessed lord—Walter de Lacy, as the story book calls him, but Gilbert de Lacy, if such prosaic things as dates are to be taken into account—there was naturally a feud. One fine summer's morning Joce ascended one of the towers of the castle to survey the country, when to his surprise he saw that the Whitcliff on the opposite side of the river was covered with soldiers flocking round the Lacy standard. Joce sallied forth at the head of a strong party and put the enemy to flight. Walter de Lacy, trying to make his escape up Teme-side, was overtaken by Joce and already wounded when three of his knights came up to his rescue. Joce's wife and his two daughters, spectators of the fray from a tower of the castle, seeing him forced to defend himself against such odds, made the air ring with their cries. Now

there was in the castle at this time a youth of seventeen, no other than Fulke de Warin—the hero of the tale—who had been placed there by his father for the benefit of Joce's training. He, hearing the outcry, ran to the tower, but only to be received with reproaches by Hawyse, one of the damsels, to whose hand it seems he was an aspirant. Stung by her taunts he forthwith seized such armour and weapons as he could lay his hands on, and hastened to the scene of conflict, where he arrived in time to slay two of the Lacy knights, and to bring Joce safely back to the castle, together with Walter de Lacy himself and his surviving champion, Ernalt de Lyls, as prisoners. Confined in a tower called Pendover, the pair were treated with courtesy and visited by the ladies of the castle, in whose train was a maiden known as Marion of the Heath. An intrigue between this damsel and the handsome Ernalt finally proved fatal to them both. But first it must be said that Marion contrived the escape of the prisoners by letting them down from one of the windows of the tower. Joce does not seem to have been much troubled by the loss of his prisoners, and proceeded with the marriage of his daughter to Fulke de Warin, after which he and his family departed from Ludlow for a season, leaving the castle in charge of a strong and faithful garrison. Behind, too, on pretence of illness, remained the lovelorn Marion, who thought the chance of again seeing her lover too good to be lost. She therefore sent to him an invitation to visit her, promising to admit him by the same window through which he had made his escape. After consultation with Walter de Lacy, Ernalt arrived and with the lady's assistance made his entrance by a ladder of leather. But in the

joy of meeting, she unwittingly left the ladder hanging from the window, and up this soon swarmed a body of armed men, whom the treacherous Ernalt had brought with him for the purpose. These slew the sentries and threw open the outer gate to the rest of their party: the garrison was soon put to the sword, and word sent to Walter de Lacy, who forthwith came and took possession of the castle. But in the morning after the surprise, when Marion awoke and became aware of what had happened, she was filled with dismay. Ernalt was still in bed, and in her despair she seized his sword, ran it through his body, and then precipitated herself from a window and broke her neck.

To return to sober history—in 1138 Joce de Dinan, or whoever was then in possession of Ludlow, seems to have been in rebellion against Stephen, for that monarch, accompanied by Henry, son of David, King of Scotland, who had been delivered up to him as a hostage after the Battle of the Standard, laid siege to the castle, and the chronicler relates that one day when the King and the Prince ventured rather too close to the walls, the latter was seized by a grapping-iron and would have been drawn up into the castle had he not been gallantly rescued by his companion. The castle apparently was not taken.

The last of the Lacs to own Ludlow was a second Gilbert who died in 1234, when his estates were divided between his two daughters. The elder with whom we are concerned, had as a second husband a certain Geoffrey de Genevill, and it was probably their son, Peter de Genevill, who, towards the end of the century, began to build the great hall and the adjoining block to the west. By the marriage of this Peter's

daughter and sole heiress Joan to Roger Mortimer, created in 1328 Earl of March, Ludlow was added to the already vast estates of that powerful family. Roger's attainder and execution in 1330 followed soon after he had entertained the young King, Edward III, at Ludlow with great magnificence. A few years earlier he seems to have built the Chapel of St. Peter, and the completion of the fourteenth-century buildings in the inner bailey may be assigned to him and his successors. For six generations the Mortimers continued to flourish at the castle, and then with the rest of their possessions it came to the Crown in the person of their heir, Edward IV. Henceforward it was an appanage of the Crown down to the year 1811, when it was sold to the Earl of Powis, the great-grandfather of the present owner.

With the reign of Edward IV. a new chapter opens in the history of the castle. In 1471 a new tribunal, rendered necessary by the disturbed condition of the Welsh border, was established under the title of the Council of Wales and the Marches.¹ Ever since their first creation by Edward I the Princes of Wales had been assisted in their government of the Principality by a Council, and Edward IV determined to extend its authority over the March, which then comprised the greater part of what we now call Wales, the Principality, or Wales proper, being then confined to the north-western mountains from Anglesey to the Dovey, together with the greater part of the modern counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen. Although it occasionally sat at other places, the new Council had

¹ It was reorganized under Henry VII. Its whole history has been most carefully worked out by Miss Skeel in her *Council in the Marches of Wales, 1904.*

its headquarters at Ludlow. It consisted of a Lord President, a Vice-President, and Councillors, with the necessary officials. Its duties were to repress the disorders which then prevailed throughout the Marches, and to punish offenders. In its functions it resembled two other extraordinary tribunals which sprang up under the Tudors, namely the Star Chamber and the Council of the North. Suppressed during the Great Rebellion, it was revived at the Restoration, and only finally abolished as no longer necessary in the first year of William and Mary. Of its long list of Presidents, we may mention two, Rowland Lee, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1534-1543), and Sir Henry Sidney (1559-1586), because they left their mark on the fabric of the castle by repairs and additions. In 1543 the duties of the Council were relieved by the institution of "The King's Great Sessions in Wales," comprising in four circuits Cheshire and the whole of Wales with the exception of Monmouthshire—an arrangement which lasted down to 1830, when the existing North and South Wales circuits took their place. The four judges of the Great Sessions were members of the Council of the Marches to the end of its existence, and considered themselves liable to its supervision.

The tradition of the connexion of the Council with that of the Princes of Wales was kept up by Edward IV, who sent his son to Ludlow in 1473, and here the young Prince remained till he succeeded to the throne in 1483; by Henry VII, whose eldest son, Arthur, kept his Court here from 1493 to his death in 1502; and by Henry VIII, who, failing a Prince of Wales, sent the Princess Mary here for two years from 1525.

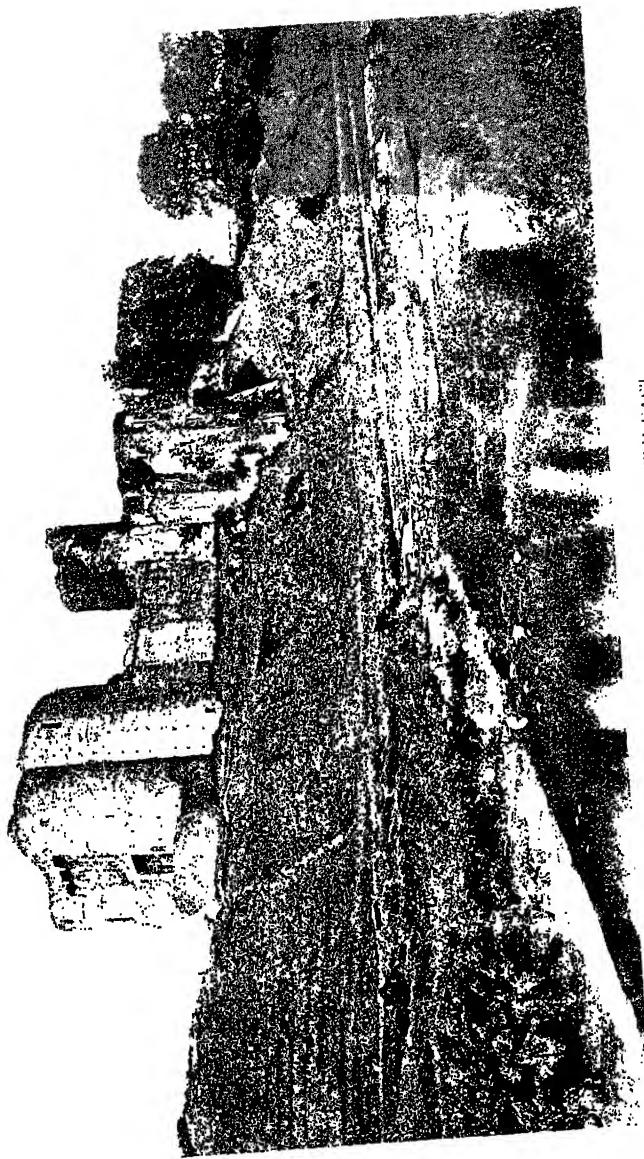
The later military history of the castle need not

detain us long. The outbreak of the Wars of the Roses found Ludlow in the possession of Richard, Duke of York, the nephew of the last of the Mortimers. In October 1459, after their victory at Bloreheath, some thirty miles to the north, the Lancastrians entered Ludlow and plundered both the town and the castle, but a year later, after their victory at Northampton, the place was recovered by the Duke of York. After his death at Wakefield in December 1460 the decisive victory of Mortimer's Cross, only nine or ten miles to the south of Ludlow, secured his son in the possession of his ancestral estates ; and the victor at once marched to London and ascended the throne as Edward IV.

In the Civil War of the seventeenth century, Ludlow was one of the last of the royal fortresses to hold out, but on the final ruin of the King's cause in the spring of 1646, it surrendered to the Governor of Hereford, Col. Birch. From this time, though it continued to be habitable for another half-century, the gradual decay of the castle may be dated. In 1656, the officer in charge of Ludlow wrote to Secretary Thurloe : "I pray you present my humble service to his highnes, and desire him to repaire me a lodging in Ludlow-Castle, or pull it downe, and give me the ground to build on. It putteth you to charge, and will one of those days (I feare) fall downe, and knocke some body on the head—It goes to racking most miserably." An inventory made as late as 1708 shows that about forty rooms were still entire, but George I, in order to save the expense of keeping up a royal residence now become superfluous, ordered the lead to be taken from the roof. Dilapidation then proceeded apace, and as usual in those days, the

inhabitants of the town found the ruins a convenient quarry for building material.

The names of a few men of letters are associated with the castle. Sir Philip Sidney, who was at Shrewsbury School, 1564-1568, during his father's presidency, must have visited here more than once. *Comus* was acted, presumably, in the hall on Michaelmas night 1634 by the children of the Earl of Bridgwater, President 1631-1661; but though Henry Lawes, who wrote the music, was present, the writer of the words was absent. Richard Baxter, a native of Shropshire, was here a twelvemonth earlier as a pupil of the earl's chaplain, Richard Wickstead, but did not learn much from him. And lastly, after the Restoration, Samuel Butler, then forty-nine years of age, filled for twelve months the offices of secretary to the President and steward of the castle under Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, President 1661-1672.



KIDWELLY FROM THE SOUTH-EAST



CHAPTER XVIII

KIDWELLY

BETWEEN Pembroke and Chepstow, the two extremities of the chain of fortresses by which the Norman adventurers secured their hold upon the fertile plains which lie between the mountains of South Wales and the sea, lie the two later castles of Kidwelly and Caerphilly, Kidwelly occupying the site of an earlier Norman stronghold, and Caerphilly one entirely new. Kidwelly is situated on the east side of Carmarthen Bay, about three miles from the estuary of the Towy, where a lesser stream, the Gwendraeth-fach, comes down from the hills to join the Bristol Channel. Its right bank some little distance above its mouth is steep and rocky, and on its summit stands the castle; the left bank, where the town is situated, is low. Thus the east side of the castle enceinte is tolerably straight, and the rest describes a semicircle surrounded by a moat. Within the enclosure thus formed and overhanging the cliff is the rectangular inner ward, which would be central if the full circle of the enceinte had not been as it were cut off by the river. At either end north and south are outworks consisting of two fortified platforms.

The most striking feature of the outer ward is the great southern gatehouse, which has some affinities

with those of Beaumaris and Harlech, but which may possibly embrace some portions of an earlier Norman keep. This, at least, was the impression carried away by Dr. J. E. Morris, who noticed¹ that the east curtain appeared to be built on to the tower instead of the tower to the curtain. The question, however, is one which must await further examination. The building is at the south-east corner of the enceinte, and measures 80 feet east and west and 50 north and south. Two conical-shaped towers project from the face into the moat (here filled up), connected by a wall of the same height. The north and west sides are straight, but the east side has a semicircular projection on to the cliff. The sill of the gateway, now reached by a rough slope, was 12 feet above the moat, which was crossed by a drawbridge, the foot of which when lowered rested on a circular barbican rising from the counterscarp of the moat. When raised the bridge would fit into the flattish-topped recess in which the gateway is set. Just below the battlements is a line of three machicolations, in the central of which is a lancet window lighting the second floor, and below this another belonging to the portcullis chamber. Some square marks on the face of the wall here suggest that the erection of a hoard over the gate may have been contemplated.

The bases of the towers contain cellars, and at the ground level is the entrance passage, with chases in the vault for fixing barricades, and grooves at either end for a portcullis, and on either side are two or three guard-chambers, the farther one on the right containing a large domed water tank. Outside this chamber in the south-east angle of the ward is a straight staircase to the first floor, with a porter's lodge beneath it. The

¹ Letter to the writer.

first and second floors contain large chambers on the north-side, looking into the ward. The lower one, which was probably a hall, has a vaulted kitchen on its east side over the tank room, communicating with the battlements of the east curtain. The height of the greater part of this gatehouse is 62 feet, but its north-western corner is carried up as a watch tower to a height of 93 feet. It is called the Pigin (*pigwn*, beacon) tower, and is reached by the vice which serves all the floors from the ground upwards. There is a second vice connecting the two upper floors near the centre of the building.

The watch tower communicates with the battlements of the western semicircular curtain, which could also be reached by a flight of steps near its (now vanished) middle tower: there are two other towers which remain. Most of the northern gatehouse, which was connected with the outwork by a drawbridge, has been destroyed: it was a much smaller building than the southern one. The outer ward also contains two ruined buildings of oblong shape, one with high gables outside the west curtain of the inner ward, and another against the cliff curtain near the northern gatehouse; they were probably designed for the accommodation of the garrison. There are also some ruins to the west of this gatehouse containing an oven.

The inner ward has drum towers provided with square turrets at its four corners. The two outer ones do not project far over the cliff, but are, so to speak, pushed in westwards. Each of the four has a basement below the ground level and three stages above. In the south-west tower, the chambers are vaulted, and the basement, according to Clark¹ the "porter's

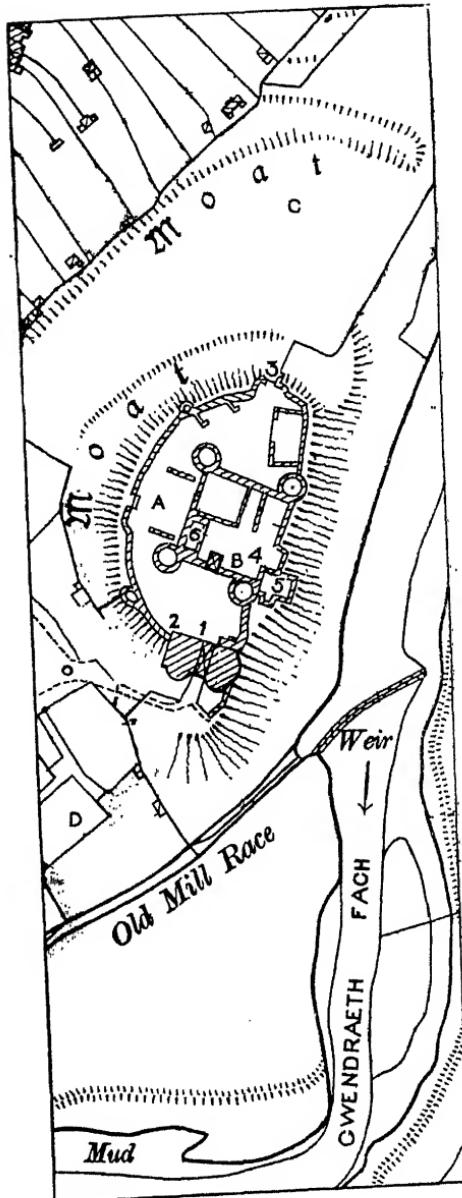
¹ M.M.A. ii. 155.

prison," is reached from the lodge by a mural passage. In the other towers the floors are of timber.

The entrances are by gateways in the north and south curtains. On the east side is the hall, with the solar at its northern extremity, but the partition wall is gone.¹ On the west side is the kitchen with two large fireplaces and one smaller, while north of the kitchen is an enclosure filling up the north-west corner of the ward, and containing, as Clark thinks, offices or soldiers' quarters.

But the most remarkable feature of this ward, if not of the whole castle, is the chapel tower at its south-east corner. This, with its row of lancet windows and its bold projection, is most cleverly adapted to its purpose, and at once rivets attention in the view from the other side of the river. It will be noticed that its base rises from lower down the cliff than any other part of the castle, and that its upper part forms a three-sided apse, while against its south side rests a flattish rectangular turret, the upper storey of which contained a vestry. The first floor of this tower, beneath the chapel, is on a level with and is entered from the hall; the second floor is the chapel, and is open to the roof. Beneath the clerestory, the row of lancets already mentioned, is a long, narrow east window, under which stood the altar, with a piscina on one side and a sedile on the other. The piscina remains.

¹ On the other hand J. H. Parker (*Domestic Architecture*, vol. iv. p. 382) thought that the dais was at the south end of the hall, and the solar the room under the chapel. He would place the kitchen at the north end, communicating with store rooms in the north-east tower. On the ground that it was not usual to have the kitchen on the opposite side of the ward from the hall [yet this is the case at Ludlow, Carnarvon, and Conway], he considers that Clark's kitchen was a bakehouse or salting house.



KIDWELLY

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—INNER WARD
- C.—NORTH PLATFORM
- D.—SOUTH PLATFORM
- 1.—GREAT GATEHOUSE
- 2.—PIGIN TOWER
- 3.—NORTH GATEHOUSE
- 4.—HALL
- 5.—CHAPEL
- 6.—KITCHEN

The northern platform covers the north and north-west of the castle, and is surrounded by a ditch, a branch of which nearly cuts off its northern extremity, leaving only a narrow passage, easily defended, along the east side of the platform. The south platform, protected on the east by the mill stream and on the other sides by walls, was entered from the old town through a gatehouse, a part of which is still standing, but the whole of this outwork is now covered with cottages and gardens. At the bottom of the hill, still farther south, the Gwendraeth is crossed by a stone bridge leading to the new town.

A Norman castle, probably of the mound-and-bailey type, was founded at Kidwelly about 1093 by William de Londres, one of the comrades of Robert Fitzhammon, the conqueror of Glamorgan. From that time down to the building of the present castle in the latter part of the thirteenth century, the place changed hands more than once. Early in the twelfth century Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, the Justiciar of Henry I, was lord of Kidwelly. He is known as the builder of the English castles of Devizes, Malmesbury, and Sherborne, and it is not improbable that he may have erected the Norman keep here already alluded to.

In 1113 Kidwelly was one of the castles taken by that energetic chieftain of the house of Dynevyr, Gruffydd ap Rhys, but it was soon recovered by the Normans. Some years later, when the castle was in the hands of Maurice de Londres, the great-grandson of William, it was attacked by Gwenllian, the wife of Gruffydd, her husband being absent in North Wales. In a battle which took place at a place still called Maes Gwenllian, her troops were defeated and she

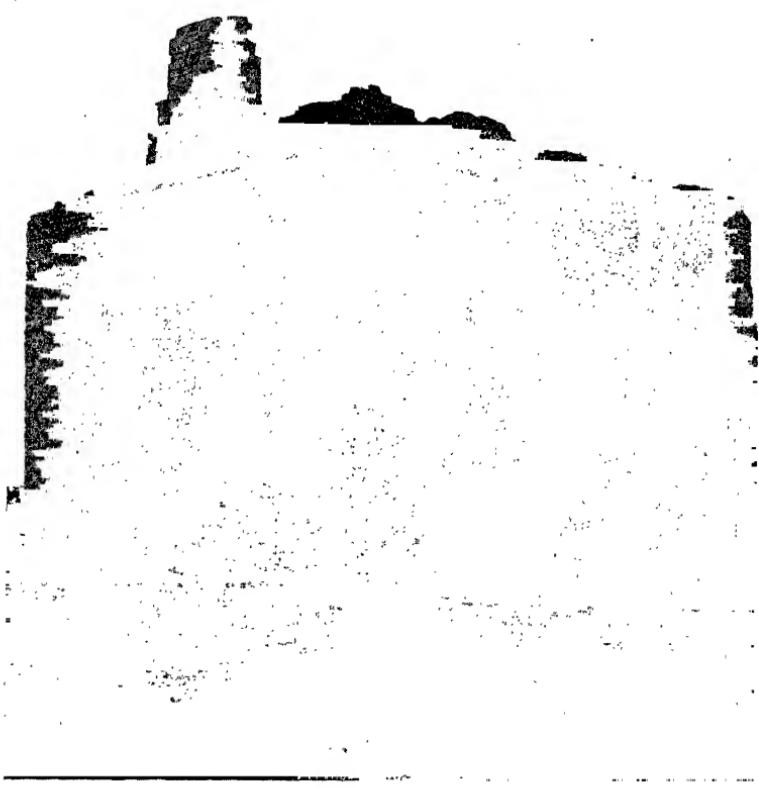
herself taken prisoner and put to death. Maurice de Londres was succeeded by his brother Thomas, and Thomas's daughter Hawise married Patrick de Chaworth. Their son, the younger Patrick, who died in 1282, is credited with the building of the existing castle. His daughter Maud carried the estate to her husband Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and grandson of Henry III. The rest of the history of the castle is almost a blank ; in the Civil Wars it followed the fortunes of its neighbour Carmarthen, and was finally surrendered to the Parliament in October 1645. It is now the property of Earl Cawdor.

Where history fails in the case of a romantic ruin it is hard if legend does not step in, and the following tale is told which the reader may assign to any date he pleases. The actors in the drama are Elirdir Ddu, lord of Kidwelly, his sons Gruffydd and Rhys, his daughter Nest, his orphan niece Gwladys, and Sir Walter Mansel of Margam, a youthful and gallant knight. It so happened that Sir Walter entertained a passion for the fair Nest, and found favour in her eyes. His addresses however were strongly discouraged by the father of the maiden, a staunch Welshman ; the lover being only a Saxon, or, what was worse, a Norman. The day came, however, when the stern father, accompanied by his younger son Rhys, betook himself off to the Crusades, leaving the elder, Gruffydd, in charge of the castle and the ladies. Now was the chance for the lovers, and many a clandestine meeting took place in the country round about. Unfortunately for them, though they escaped detection by Gruffydd, they could not escape the watchful eye of the jealous Gwladys, who had also set her affections on the Norman knight. To complicate matters still

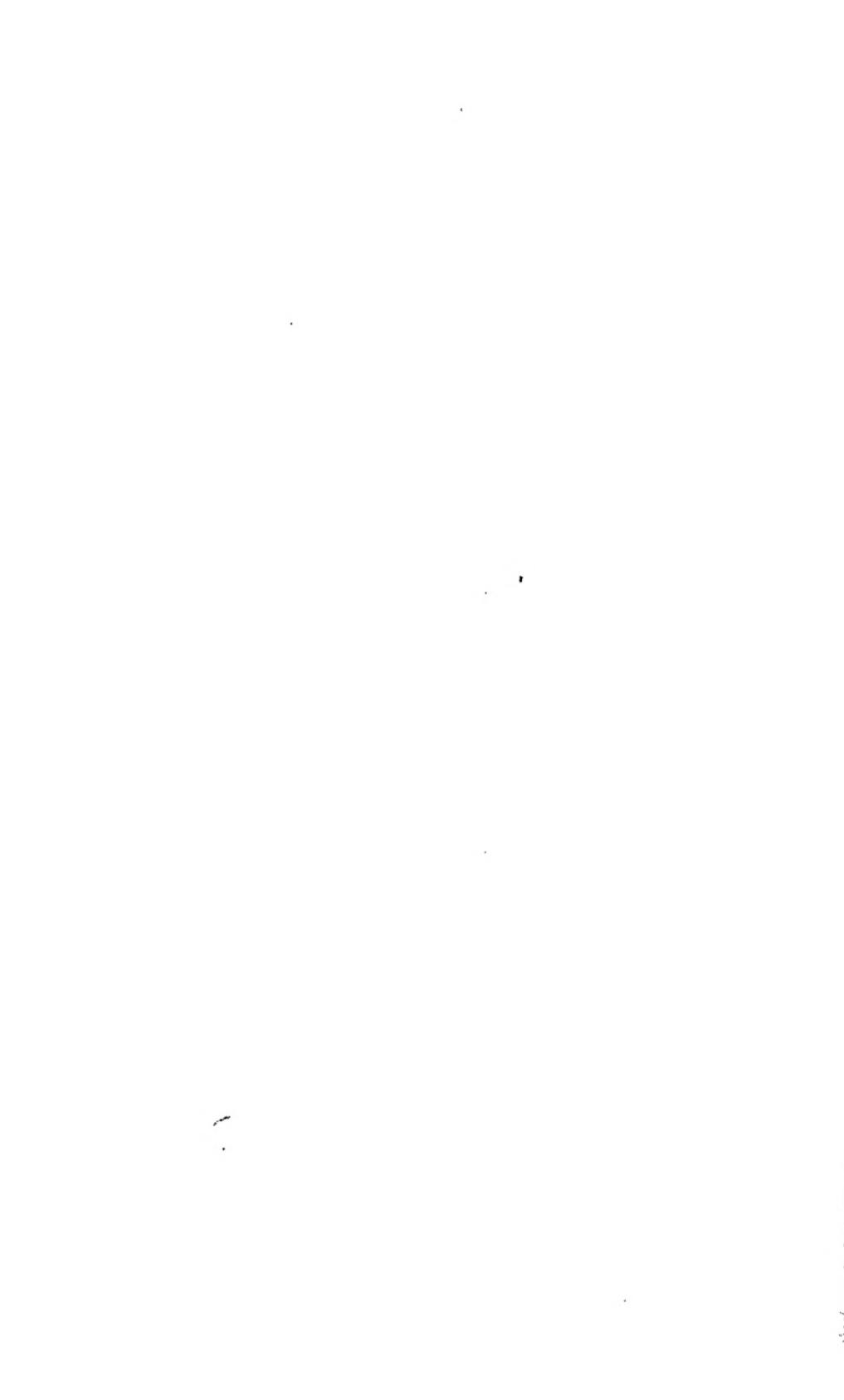
further, Gruffydd was himself smitten with a hopeless passion for Gwladys. This damsel, who had hitherto turned a deaf ear to his vows, in order to carry out her dark designs now pretended to listen to them. She revealed the secret meetings between Walter and Nest, and induced him to join her in her schemes of revenge. An evil ruffian about the castle called Merig was accordingly sent for and given his instructions. It had been somehow ascertained that the next meeting-place of the lovers was to be a certain bridge over the Gwendaeth. Here, as Sir Walter advanced to meet his lady-love, an arrow whistled forth from the reeds and pierced his heart. The villain Merig then rushed from his hiding-place and flung the body of his victim over the bridge into the racing tide. Nest was so horrified that she flung herself over into the tide after her lover, and the two bodies were soon afterwards recovered by fishermen, and a story was put about by the guilty parties that the pair had been accidentally drowned. Having gained her ends, Gwladys now threw off the mask and rejected Gruffydd with scorn as a murderer. Anyone who cared might now defend the castle as far as he was concerned, and the disappointed suitor went off to the Crusades to join his father, taking the murderer Merig with him. Rhys, however, was the only one who returned to Kidwelly, where he took the guilty Gwladys to wife. There was, however, no peace for the wicked : under the pangs of remorse her brain gave way, and it was whispered abroad among the neighbours that at nightfall a white spectre was seen hovering about the Pont-y-Gwendaeth, which when approached vanished with a piercing scream into the dark waters of the river. Henceforward the bridge received the name of the

Pont-yr-yspryd-gwyn, or the bridge of the white spectre.

The present state of the ruins is very far from satisfactory : ivy as usual is rampant, and several seedling ashes which have sprung up within the walls are by no means calculated either to protect the building or to allow its details to be advantageously examined.



NORHAM, KEEP FROM THE SOUTH-WEST



CHAPTER XIX

NORHAM

NO castles were more closely identified with Border warfare than those of Norham and of Wark on the Tweed, none so often the object of attack. Of the latter nothing remains but a few foundations and some parts of the curtain ; the chief glory of the former is its once formidable keep, of which but three sides now remain. A steep headland rising from the right bank of the Tweed with a deep ravine on either side formed an ideal site for a stronghold which was to defend the English frontier against the Scottish foe. It is much to be regretted that the modern rage for plantations has done its best to impair the dignity which even in its present ruined condition it might still possess. The slopes of the cliff and both the ravines have been so thickly covered with timber that from a distance there is nothing to be seen but the upper part of the keep peering out in a melancholy fashion above the tops of the trees. The fact that throughout the country, wherever ancient earthworks or mounds exist, the prevailing instinct seems to have been to cover them with wood, is hardly creditable to the historic sense of their owners ; it need hardly be remarked that in the old days such adjuncts to a military position would

have afforded a far too convenient cover to the enemy.

Norham Castle consists of two wards; and as at Portchester, Ludlow, and Dunstanburgh, the inner ward is at one corner of the outer one, so that two of its sides are formed by the general enceinte. The outer ward is somewhat in the shape of a half-moon, with the main entrance (not that by which the visitor enters to-day) at the western extremity towards the village. This consisted of an oblong gatehouse (40 feet by 20), of which the lower parts only remain. It seems to have contained three gates, and in front of the outer one were projecting walls, as at Bamburgh, between which the drawbridge was let down, the outer end resting on a platform outside the ditch. To the north-east of the gatehouse a small portion of the wall is left, pierced by loops, splayed on the interior, to command the approach. To the south-east, along the summit of a steep bank, the wall has entirely disappeared until the present entrance is reached. Opposite this part of the enceinte, on the other side of the ravine (now containing the modern road), are entrenchments, believed to be Roman, which must have formed a convenient station for a besieging force. The curtain appears again at the modern entrance, which passes through the westernmost of six round-headed arches with which it is here pierced¹; but this part is now included in the dwelling-house of the custodian. At the south-east corner a large fragment of the curtain remains,

¹ Raine (*History of North Durham*, p. 300 note) thought that these arches were intended for the speedy admission of cattle by day or night when the Scots were at hand. If so, there must have been some means of closing them. This side was well protected by the southern ravine.

and another just before it crosses the ditch which divides the outer from the inner ward, where the lower part, containing the arch of a postern, is left. It then abuts upon the keep a little to the west of its south-eastern corner.

The inner ward is 57 yards east and west by 47 yards north and south, its south-eastern portion being occupied by the keep. The only parts of its curtain now left are on its east and south sides. That on the east is strengthened at the corner where it turns north by a thick bastion with a salient angle, probably added by Sir Robert Bowes in the middle of the sixteenth century. The southern fragment had a rectangular tower projecting at its western extremity, of which little but the lower courses remains. Farther on a gap in the bank marks the site of the gatehouse. Then along the north side of the ward were the chapel, the hall, and the kitchen, with the well between it and the keep, all apparently in ruins by 1550.

The keep measures about 64 feet north and south by 86 feet east and west, and must have been about 90 feet high. Like Bamburgh and other keeps of the kind, it was divided into two compartments by a transverse wall here running east and west. The northern half of the east side above the level of the first storey has gone, and of the north side only the east end up to the same level remains. The most striking feature externally is the difference in the appearance of the western half of the south side and the whole of the west side from the rest of the building. Internally this is not apparent, and the inference seems to be that the western portions were refaced, without pilasters, and with sets-off at different levels from

those of the eastern parts, at some date subsequent to that of the first building. From the character of the windows in the refaced part this would be in the Decorated period, and may be attributed to Antony Bek, the warlike bishop of 1283 to 1311. In this connexion the reader will remember that the extreme north of the county of Northumberland, consisting of the wards called Norhamshire and Islandshire, was until 1844 a detached part of Durham, and down to the time of Elizabeth belonged to the temporalities of the bishops Palatine.

Ralph Flambard, bishop 1099-1128, is recorded to have founded the castle as an outpost against the Scots in 1121. His fortress, of whatever character it was,¹ probably occupied the site now covered by the inner ward, but no part of the present remains can be attributed to him. His buildings must have suffered severely from the assaults of King David of Scotland in 1136 and 1138, and it is distinctly stated that Bishop Pudsey (1153-1194) found the fortifications so weak that he thought it necessary to secure them with a tower of very great strength,² presumably the present keep, which will thus be about ten years older than that of Bamburgh.

To return to its exterior, the east side rises with a high sloping plinth from the edge of the ravine, and forms part of the general enceinte. In the centre

¹ According to Roger de Hoveden (Rolls Series, i. 179, under 1121) it had stone towers, probably mural. "Ranulfus quoque Dunelmensis episcopus castellum apud Norham incepit super ripam Thwedæ. At in vigilia Natalis Domini ventus insolitus non solum domos, sed etiam tresses dejecit lapideas."

² "Castellum de Northam, quod munitionibus infirmum reperit, turre validissima forte reddidit." Galfrid of Coldingham in the *Surtees Soc. Pub. 9, p. 12,*

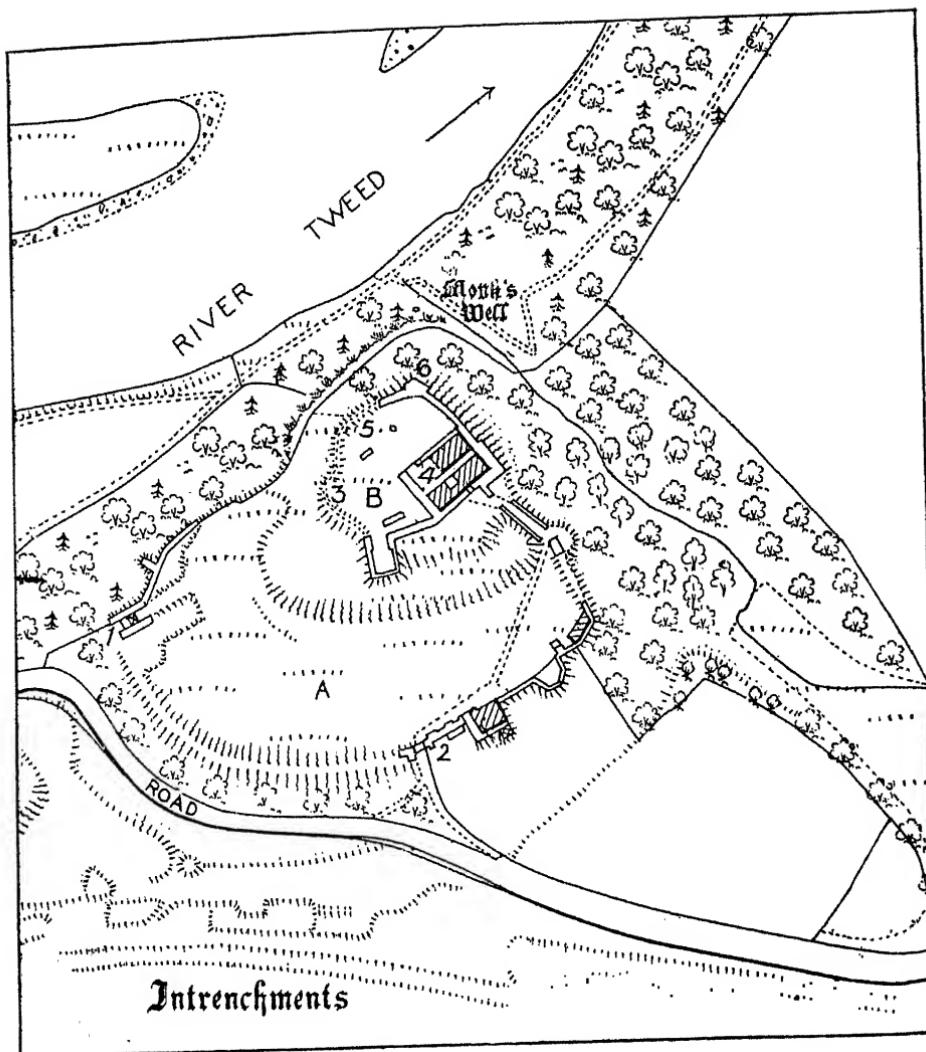
is a pilaster, to the north of which the wall has been destroyed down to the top of the first storey; and at the south-east corner are two more pilasters capping the angle. The south side has a pilaster in the centre, west of which the refacing begins, and east of which, in the unaltered part, is another narrower pilaster. This part has only one set-off, about half-way between the two sets-off in the refaced part which mark the level of the third and fourth floors. Here too are three pointed doorways, one above the other, opening from the second, third, and fourth floors, which Clark¹ supposed must have given access to garderobes of timber projecting from the wall. The west side has in the centre a line of loops lighting a vice which ascends to a square turret rising above the roof, but of which only the western part is left. North of this vice is a line of two-light windows belonging to the first, second, and third floors, the base of the lowest being altogether broken away. There was probably another for the fourth floor, but this part of its wall has gone. South of the vice the three upper storeys have windows of one light only, and beneath them, on the first floor, a large round-headed doorway. This was probably Pudsey's entrance to the keep, and was approached by an external staircase applied to the face of the wall, and rising from its northern end. It would have had a landing at its summit covered by a forebuilding, as was the case at Corfe. If this was so, both staircase and forebuilding must have been pulled down when Bishop Bek was making his alterations. Indeed, in order to insert the vice, which is entered by a door at the ground level, he must have pulled down a great part of the wall itself, and at the

¹ *M.M.A.* ii. 325.

same time he may have opened the entrance into the basement at the south-western corner, before which it could only have been reached by a trap and ladder from the first floor. As for the other entrances, the doorway in the north wall, of which one jamb remains at the west end of the great breach, was probably that recorded to have been made in 1429-1430 when Cardinal Langley was bishop, and the present entrance in the south wall is through another breach, probably a broken loop.

The interior originally contained, besides the basement, two floors only, but the walls were probably carried up high enough to conceal the two ridges of the roof, one ridge for each division. Afterwards, as in other instances, these pointed roofs gave way to a flat ceiling over which a third storey was contrived, and over this again a fourth storey, to accommodate which it may have been necessary to heighten the outside walls; but only fragments of the lower courses of such an addition now remain. On every floor there were two rooms divided by the cross-wall, the northern one being rather the wider. In the basement the northern division is covered by a groined vault of four compartments, the southern division by a barrel vault. The latter was again divided into an eastern and western chamber: the eastern is lighted by a loop to the east, and communicated with the northern division by a door in the cross-wall; the western has a loop in its south wall, and in its west wall Bishop Bek's doorway and another loop. The northern division has loops in its east and west walls, and probably had four in its north wall, but only the two easternmost remain.

The upper floors were entered on either side of the

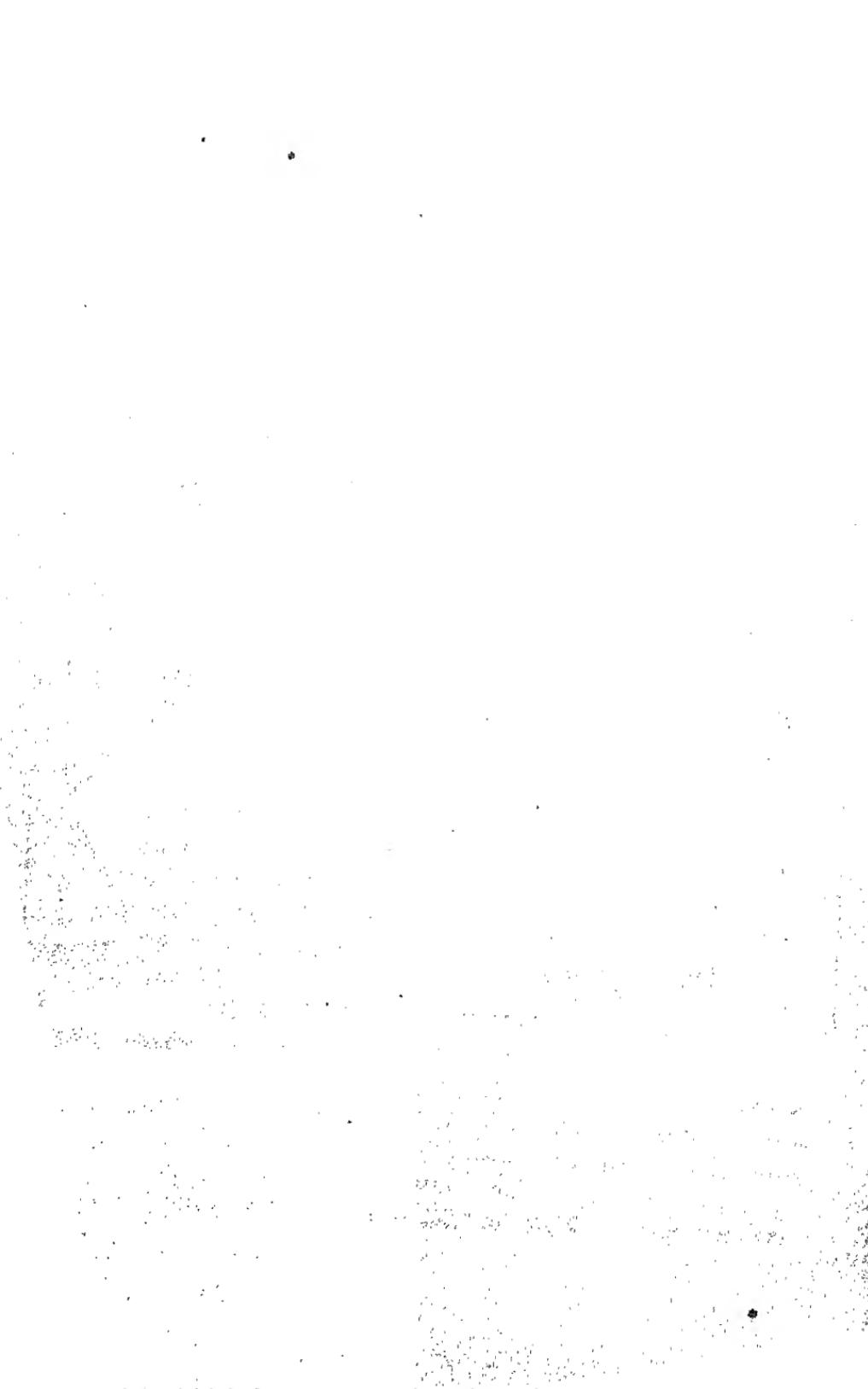


Intrenchments

NORHAM

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—INNER WARD
- 1.—OUTER GATEHOUSE
- 2.—ARCHEES
- 3.—INNER GATEHOUSE
- 4.—KEEP
- 5.—HALL
- 6.—SIR ROBERT BOWES' BASTION

Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the
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cross-wall by doors leading out of the vice. The windows in the west wall have already been described. The first and second floors also had windows in the east wall. Both rooms on the first floor seem to have been vaulted, and at the west end of the southern one was the entrance from the original staircase. The vault of this room was of four compartments, the westernmost of which on the south contained a fireplace, and the other three on the same side small round-headed windows. The south chamber on the second floor was probably the great hall of the keep : it has a round-headed window to the east and two lancets to the south, west of which is a doorway leading into a mural passage communicating with the external door mentioned above as opening into a projecting garderobe. There is a similar doorway above it on the third floor, east of which is one lancet window only. If either of the chambers on these two floors had fireplaces, they must have been in the cross-wall. Little is left of the fourth floor : each chamber seems to have had windows at the west end, and the southern one a fireplace in the south wall.

We have already seen that the first to build a castle at Norham (the site had been given to St. Cuthbert by Bishop Egred of Lindisfarne in the ninth century) was Ralph Flambard in 1121, and that the keep was the work of his successor, Hugh Pudsey, some thirty to forty years later. In 1120 Lothian had been cut off from the see of Durham and given to that of Glasgow, and Flambard was no doubt apprehensive lest the Scots should push their acquisitions beyond the Tweed. That river, however, remained the boundary, and though now and again for short intervals the bishops were required to surrender the castle into the King's

hands, they continued to hold it for four centuries, and to maintain its reputation as the chief stronghold on the Border between Berwick and Wark.

Edward I took up his quarters in the castle in 1291, when arbitrating between the claimants to the Scottish throne. He opened the proceedings in the church of the village, and, assembled on the meadow by the river opposite the castle, the rivals agreed to recognize his suzerainty and to abide by his decision.

Edward II, after his defeat at Bannockburn, escaped to Bamburgh in a boat with seventeen men, and the Scots then poured across the Border. For several years the whole of Northumberland remained waste, and security was only to be found under the walls of a castle or fortified town. It is to this period, when Norham was held by Sir Thomas Gray, that the story of Marmion belongs—not of course the Marmion created by Scott for a later period, but a Sir William Marmion, whose adventures are related by Leland. At a great feast in Lincolnshire a helmet with a golden crest was brought to Marmion together with a letter from the sender bidding him go to the "daungerest" place in England and there make the helmet famous. The sender was a lady, and Marmion could not refuse. The most dangerous place at this time was agreed to be Norham, so there the knight repaired, and was hospitably received by Sir Thomas Gray. Within four days of his arrival a body of more than eight score men-at-arms, "the very flour of men of the Scottish marches," appeared before the castle. Sir Thomas Gray then led out his garrison, "behind whom cam William, richly arrayed, as al glittering in gold, and wearing the heaulme, his lady's present," but on foot. Seeing this, Sir Thomas Gray shouted to him, "Sir

Knight, ye be cum hither to fame your helmet : mount up on your horse, and ryde like a valiant man to your foes even here at hand, and I forsake God if I rescue not thy body deade or alyve, or I myself wyl dye for it." Marmion then charged into the Scots, but they "layed sore stripes on him" and dragged him out of his saddle. "Then Thomas Gray with al the hole garrison lette prick yn among the Scottes, and so wondid them and their horses, that they were overthrown ; and Marmion, sore beten, was horsid agayn, and with Gray persewed the Scottes yn chase." Fifty horses "of price" were taken from the Scots and were led by the women of the castle to the unmounted soldiers to follow the chase, which only ceased outside the walls of Berwick.

Another exploit of Sir Thomas Gray is thus related by Mr. Bates.¹ One day "Adam de Gordon, a Scottish baron, came before Norham with 160 men-at-arms, thinking to surprise the cattle grazing outside the castle. The young men ran out to the other end of the village, then all in ruins, and began skirmishing. Surrounded there by the Scots they took refuge behind some old walls, and made a bold defence. Then Sir Thomas Gray, issuing from the castle with his garrison and perceiving the jeopardy they were in, said to his under-constable : 'I pledge thee this castle, which I ought to guard for the King's use, that I will drink out of the same cup as my men there.' He advanced so rapidly that although he had no more than sixty men with him, including common soldiers, the Scots, seeing him coming in this bold fashion, left the skirmishers and took to the open. The young men who had been surrounded then sprang out of the ditches and, charg-

¹ *History of Northumberland*, 1895, p. 161.

ing the enemy, forced them to turn their horses round so suddenly that many stumbled and their riders were killed by the footmen. The whole English force, now being united under Sir Thomas Gray, drove the Scots over the Tweed, taking and killing many. If they had only been better horsed, scarcely a Scotchman would have escaped."

In the Wars of the Roses Norham did not take so prominent a part as the castles farther east and south. After Towton it was held by the Yorkists, but in June 1463 it was besieged by King Henry and the young James III of Scotland. Warwick and Montagu, who were then for the second time in Northumberland, marched to its relief and drove the besiegers from before the walls. Henry with his Queen and son had to conceal themselves in the wilds till they could make good their escape to Bamburgh. For five days they suffered the greatest privations, having only a single herring and barely one day's allowance of bread among them. One day, probably July 20th, the feast of St. Margaret, the Queen had not even a "black penny" to offer at mass, and begged a Scottish archer to lend her something ; the man reluctantly produced a "Scots groat" from his pocket and handed it to her. Warwick and Montagu all this time were in pursuit, but the fugitives at length were able to throw themselves into Bamburgh. Early in the next year the Lancastrians actually got possession of Norham, but after his victory at Hedgeley Moor (April 25th) Montagu recovered it.

In August 1497, James IV, who had espoused the cause of the Pretender, Perkin Warbeck, laid siege to Norham, and with some difficulty brought the great gun known as Mons Meg from Edinburgh and got it into position. The governor, Sir Richard Cholmley,

surrendered the place, but the Scots do not seem to have long retained it. In 1513, on his march to Flodden, the Scottish King again captured the castle after a five days' siege. It seems to have received some damage on this occasion, for when recovered after the battle, the bishop, Thomas Ruthal, spent much money on its repairs. The accounts of the clerks of the works carried out at Norham from time to time are preserved in the episcopal archives at Durham and have been printed by Raine in his *History of North Durham*, while other interesting documents occur in the State Papers. From the latter source comes the following letter, written from Auckland on October 24th, 1513, by Bishop Ruthal to Wolsey, then the King's almoner, regarding the state of the castle after Flodden :

“ As towching the Castell of Norham, thanked be God and Saynt Cutbert it is not so ill as I supposid, for the Dongeon and the Innerward schal be renewyd schortly ; and if I be not lettyd by the Scots, I trust, if all promysses be kept with me, they shalbe in better cas than they war, by Whitsontyde. I have my smythys workyng on the iron gats and dorys, my carpenters upon roffs, my masons in divysing for stonye and other necessaries for the re-edifying of the sayd Dongeon and Inner-warde, my lyme brenners set in wark, and within brieff tyme I purpose to send unto the King's grace for commyssions to take warkmen ayenst the tyme of yere for re-edifying of y^e Castell, for I purpose, God willing, to spare no money though I live a pore life till it be fynished. . . .”

The good bishop evidently hoped for a substantial royal grant, for he goes on to expatiate upon his

domestic expenses at Bishop Auckland and the lavish hospitality he was expected to dispense there. The details of the expenses on the repairs are given in the book of the clerk of the works.

Nevertheless, early in 1521 work is still going on and Thomas Dacre reports that unless the outer ward is made stronger it cannot possibly stand a siege, but "as vnto the inner ward it is so fynyshed, and of that strenth that with the help of God, and the prayer of Saint Cuthb'rt it is vnprignable." As for stores there were 44 oxen and "kye" salted down in vats, besides the supplies in daily use, 3 hogsheads of salt salmon, 100 salt fish; and in readiness for salting "grisse beif corn," 6 fed oxen and 30 sheep lying under the castle wall nightly, as well for surety of the same as for a necessity.

In fact the greater part of another century had yet to run before the Border farmers could feel at all safe from the Scottish reivers, and even much later the many fortified homesteads between Tyne and Tweed must have proved a useful protection against such parties of private adventurers as we read of in *The Black Dwarf*. Norham itself, however, seems to have gradually fallen into decay after the middle of the sixteenth century. Although as late as 1541 Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker, in their official *View of the Castles, Towers, Barmekyns, and Fortressses of the East and Middle Marches*, reported that it was "in very good state both in reparacons and fortificac'ons well furnyshed and stuffed with artyllery munyc'ons and other necessaries," it appears that by 1550, when the same Sir Robert Bowes wrote his *Book of the State of the Frontiers and Marches*, almost one half of the keep had "fallen and decayed," and as this had happened "long since," one is driven to the conclusion

that the report of nine years earlier had shut its eyes to this deficiency, if not to others, for the defences generally at the later date were in no very good state. Sir Robert recommends that what remained of the keep should be lowered one storey, and that the north side of the inner ward should be "massively rampired with earth," while the greater part of the curtain of the outer ward was "very old, thin and weak," and so low that an enemy stationed on the opposite hill across the river could see into the castle.

The Bishop of Durham at this time was the scholarly Cuthbert Tunstal, but when in 1559 he refused the oath of supremacy to Elizabeth, the castle, together with the shires of Norham and Island, was finally separated from the bishopric and vested in the Crown. Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's cousin, was now granted a lease of it, and in January 1569 he wrote to Cecil that it was in such decay as to be uninhabitable, and that it was actually an advantage to the bishopric to have got rid of it; and again in the next year that there was no dry place in it: "the hall was a fishpool at every great rain." In 1580 Norham and Wark were "so greatly in ruyne and decay as no man dare dwell in them, and if speedy remedy be not had, they will falle flatte to the grounde," and though in consequence of the recommendations of the Queen's commissioners some repairs were undertaken, in 1594 Burghley was informed that the castle was so ruined that there was never house or lodging left standing in it except two rooms in the outer gatehouse occupied by the constable.

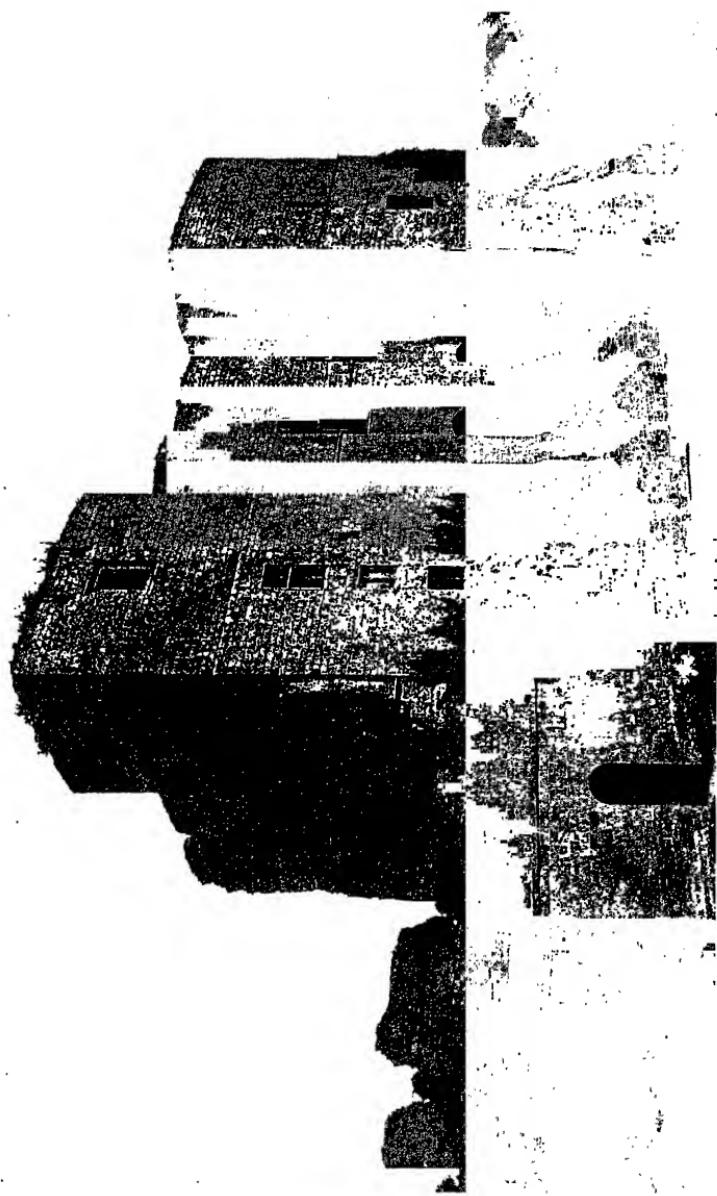
In 1603 James I granted the castle to Sir George Hume, afterwards created Earl of Dunbar. It now belongs to Sir Hubert Jerningham.

CHAPTER XX

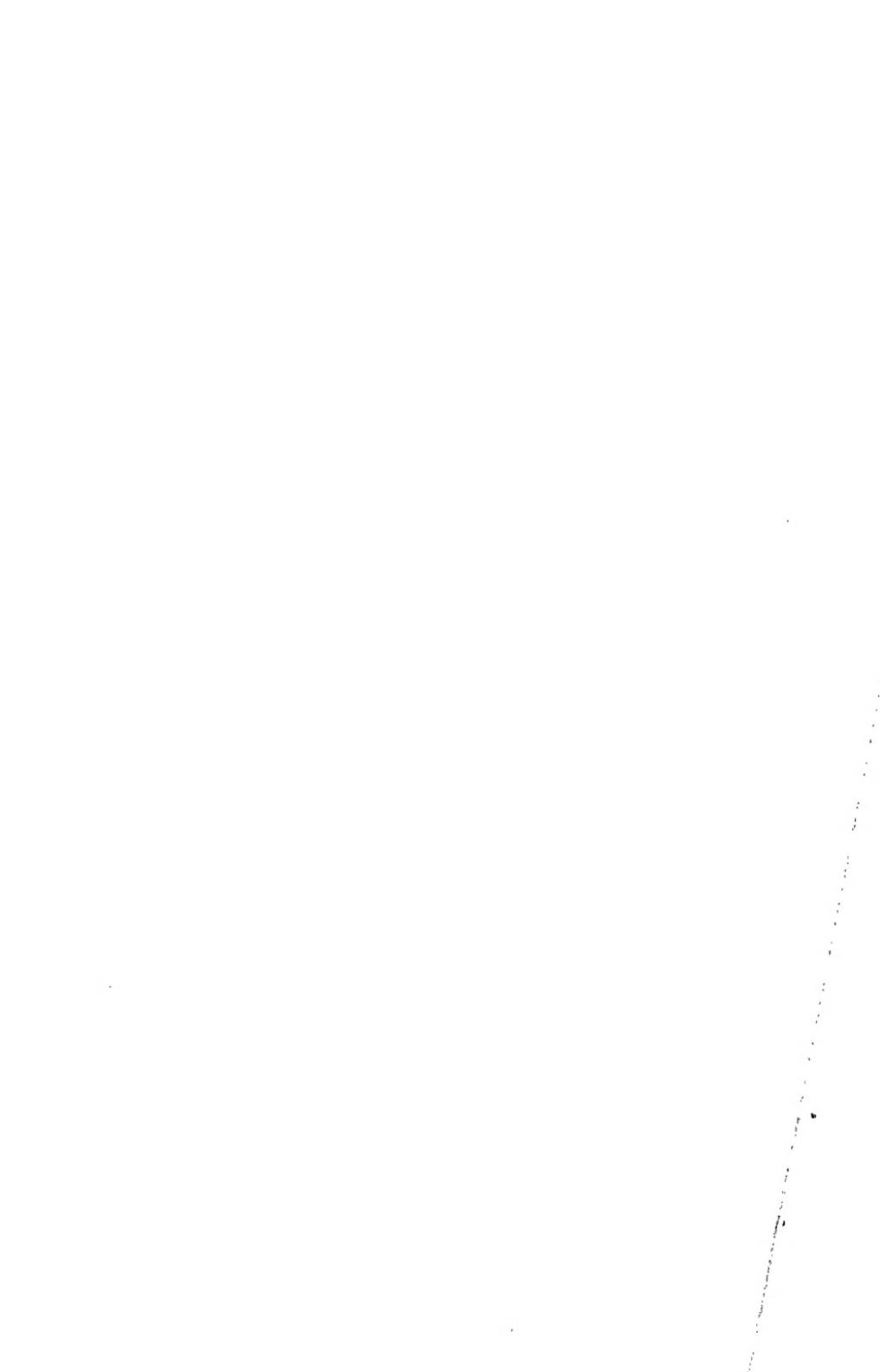
KENILWORTH

KENILWORTH, with its neighbour Warwick, though not, like the castle we have been considering in the last chapter, in constant peril from the attacks of roving marauders, were first the most formidable strongholds and afterwards the most splendid palaces in the central parts of England. In the latter capacity Warwick has survived its rival. The domestic history of Kenilworth closes with the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, its military history with the Barons' Wars of the thirteenth. In its present ruined state the impress of both these phases of its past is undisguised.

The castle stands on a knoll of sandstone and gravel surrounded on two sides by the Finham brook, which here comes down from the north, and makes a bend to the east and north-east till it finally joins the Sow, itself a tributary of the Avon. Just at the angle it receives a small rivulet from the south-west known as the Inchford brook, and a little farther on another nameless streamlet from the south. The base of the knoll was therefore well watered, and, as will be seen, the marshy course of the brook was easily converted into a pool or lake. Such a situation would commend itself even in pre-Norman times



KENILWORTH, KEEP



to the landowner in search of a defensible site for his dwelling; it was only necessary to connect the brook on the west and south sides by a deep fosse drawn round the other two sides, and to steepen the existing slopes of the knoll. Remains of these works may still be seen in the deep ditch separating the castle from Clinton Green on the north, and in the scarped mounds projecting outside the inner ward on the west; but on the east side the greater part of the ditch has been filled up.

Assuming then that the earliest occupiers confined themselves to the ground afterwards covered by the inner ward of the castle, with perhaps an outwork to the north and west, the character of the masonry of the outer curtain points to the conclusion that the whole of the area at present enclosed was fortified by their Norman successors—an addition which, besides providing an outer line of the defence, would serve for the protection of flocks and herds for the use of the garrison.

The space thus enclosed is rather more than nine acres, the south-western quarter of which contains the inner ward. The space left between the outer and inner curtains is therefore much wider on the north and east sides than on the other two. The outer curtain retains five of its towers—including the two gatehouses, Mortimer's and Leicester's—but the barracks or lodgings once contained within it have almost wholly disappeared. The principal buildings are ranged round the inner ward.

Of these the earliest is the twelfth-century keep, which differs from the other examples of the kind already dealt with in several particulars: the square turrets at the four corners have a much greater

projection, its interior is not divided into two parts by a cross-wall, and its basement is filled with earth up to the top of the plinth. Its length east and west is 87 feet and its breadth north and south about 30 feet less; its height is 80 feet. It consists of two stages only, a basement and an upper floor, the joists of the latter resting on a shelf formed by a reduction in the thickness of the wall, and possibly further strengthened by a central transverse beam supported by upright posts. Only three of the four side walls remain; the whole of the north wall has been removed—probably by the Parliamentarians in the Civil War, to prevent the place being garrisoned against them. The interior was much pulled about by Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who inserted the great Tudor windows in the east and south walls. The west face was covered by a forebuilding, also altered by Dudley, up to the sills of the first-floor windows, which looked out over its roof. The north-east turret contained the vice, and the north-west the garderobes. The two southern turrets were filled with earth up to the first-floor level: the eastern one is still so filled, but the western one was cleared out and fitted up by Dudley.

The basement chamber has a plinth 2 feet high and 1 deep running round it. In the south wall were three deeply splayed loops, but Dudley cut away the splays and thus produced the wide, straight-sided openings which now exist. The mullioned windows, resembling those above, which once filled them have been removed. In the south-east corner is a door leading to the well, the pipe of which ascends in the thickness of the wall to the floor above, and just north of this is a loop contracted in the centre like an hour-glass. In the north-east corner a modern

round-headed doorway opens into a small mural chamber lighted by a loop, and also into the staircase turret. These stairs were formerly approached from the chamber by a right-angled passage in the north wall. In the north-west corner is a door by which the basement chamber is entered from the forebuilding, and just north of it a passage leading to the wardrobe.

The first-floor room, which was about 40 feet high, was the principal apartment of the keep. It has three huge Tudor windows in the south wall and two in the east wall, replacing earlier Norman ones probably of the same character as the two which remain in the west wall. If there was a fireplace it must have been in the north wall, now gone. In the south-east corner is the well-chamber, from the vault of which was suspended a pulley for raising the bucket. A bent passage close by leads into the turret chamber. Mural passages in the north wall led into the wardrobe and staircase turrets at either end; the opening of the former remains in the east side of the north-west turret, and just south of this is a wardrobe passage door corresponding to the one below. In the south-west corner is the entrance passage from the forebuilding, with a door in its south side opening into the turret chamber.

The forebuilding, which consisted of a basement and one storey over it, covered the lower part of the west face of the keep, and projected from it 38 feet. The entrance from the ward, now repaired, is on its south side, and from the door, according to Clark,¹ "a straight stair, reversed with a second flight, must have risen 25 feet to reach the first floor." The interior is

¹ *M.M.A.*, ii. 136.

now much dilapidated, and the south-west turret of the keep, which was refitted by Dudley, may be entered through a breach in its west wall, and is now a mere shell. The west wall of the forebuilding is also much broken. In the north wall a doorway, probably cut late in the fourteenth century, leads through an alcove on to the terrace of the pleasure garden, which here fills the space between the inner and outer curtains. In the basement of the forebuilding are five out of six square pillars, probably inserted at the same time that the doorway and alcove were constructed, supporting round arches, of which four remain, with an effect now decidedly incongruous.

On its south and east sides, in spite of its great Tudor windows and ruined battlements, this great keep still has a majestic appearance, which would be enhanced if the ivy were removed. The ground being lowest on these two sides, the base is composed of a bold battering plinth of eight or ten steps, from which rise four pilasters on the south face and three on the east. The turrets have a set-off at two-thirds of their height, and the intervening walls have one at a rather lower level. The interior of the upper part of the north-west turret is now exposed, its west wall having fallen as late as 1817.

The keep occupies the north-east corner of the inner ward. The east side is now open to the outer ward, but it was formerly closed by a range of buildings called Henry VIII's Lodgings, and between this and the keep was the entrance gateway to the inner ward, defended by a portcullis. Traces of this gateway may be observed on the wall of the keep.

Westward of the keep, against the north curtain, were the kitchens, of which the fireplaces and ovens

remain, and west of these again the buttery. The whole of the west side of the ward was taken up by the great hall, which was one of the finest in the whole of England. Towards the ward it has at its south end a grand oriel, and at its north end a magnificent entrance porch, approached by an exterior staircase, now gone. Towards the west it is flanked at either end by a square tower, the Saintlowe tower to the south, and the Strong tower to the north. Both project from the line of the hall, and have polygonal turrets at their outer angles; but the whole deserves a more detailed examination.

The hall had an undercroft or cellar, entered by a door at the north end of the east wall, beneath the porch. Opposite this door in the west wall was a postern, defended by a portcullis, and opening on the mounds outside. The cellar was vaulted into eighteen square bays by means of two rows of five pillars each, and five responds in each side wall, with two in each end wall, thus forming three aisles lengthways and six cross aisles. The easternmost cross aisle was separated from the rest by a stone screen, to form a passage between the two doors. Another door in the screen itself opened into the main body of the cellar, which is lighted by loops in the east wall, and is at the same level as the ward. A perfect example of such a vaulted cellar, on a rather smaller scale, remains at Winfield Manor, in Derbyshire. The hall itself, of which the two end walls above the top of the undercroft are gone, measures 90 by 45 feet. It has four large windows towards the outer ward, and three (besides the oriel) towards the inner ward, each consisting of two lights divided by two transoms. In the third bay from the south, on either side, the place of

a window is taken by a large fireplace. The dais was at the south end, and at its east side is the oriel, a panelled and groined recess with three windows of much the same pattern as the others, and a small fireplace. Opposite the oriel in the Saintlowe tower is a recess for a sideboard, and a passage leading into the drawing-room behind the dais. Here, too, in the northern turret is a stair leading downwards into a small chamber, opening out of the large cellar, and perhaps used as a wine cellar, and upwards to the roof of the tower. At the north end of the hall was a door communicating with the buttery and kitchen, and in the jamb of the north-west window is a door opening into a vice which leads up to the roof.

At the north end of the hall, corresponding to the Saintlowe tower, is the Strong tower, so called because used as a prison. It has a basement and two upper storeys, all vaulted, with four bays springing from a central pillar, now gone. In the sides of one of the window recesses are some coats of arms, scratched by prisoners¹ to relieve the weary hours. This tower is now reached by an exterior stairway, and from its summit a good view of the castle and the surrounding country may be obtained.

The rest of the inner ward need not detain us long. On the south side only a few fragments remain. Beginning at the west, here were the White Hall, perhaps used as an anteroom, the Presence Chamber and the Privy Chamber, and in the rear, projecting from the curtain, a garderobe tower, containing two garderobes on the ground floor and two on the upper floor. Projecting from the south-east corner of the ward is a block erected by Dudley, and known as

¹ The better sort of prisoners were confined in these rooms.

Leicester's buildings, one of the most conspicuous and least interesting features of the castle. The buildings are 80 or 90 feet high, but in a very insecure state, and are shored up with balks of timber.

The inner ward also contained an earlier Norman hall and chapel, of which no traces remain above ground; part of the site of the latter was covered by Henry VIII's Lodgings. It is a pity that the east face of the great hall should be disfigured by huge masses of ivy, which should be removed without delay if the building is to be preserved for posterity.

The outer ward is, roughly, of an oblong or oval shape, lying east and west. The curtain wall is tolerably perfect except on the north side, opposite Clinton Green, where only a fragment remains; but here the deep ditch is still some sort of protection. The remaining towers are the Swan tower, at the north-west corner, Leicester's gatehouse, Lunn's tower, the Water tower, and Mortimer's tower, at the end of the dam. The Swan tower, now ruined, is an octagon resting on a solid square base, so that the inner floor is about 10 feet above the ground. Leicester's gatehouse was erected about 1570. It differs in its position from an ordinary gatehouse, seeing that it does not stand on the line of the curtain, but well within it. The curtain now has a shoulder northwards to the north-west of the gatehouse, and is returned southwards some little distance to the north-east of it.¹ It is oblong in shape, with projecting octagon turrets at the four corners, and is now used as a dwelling-house, the thoroughfare having been blocked up at either

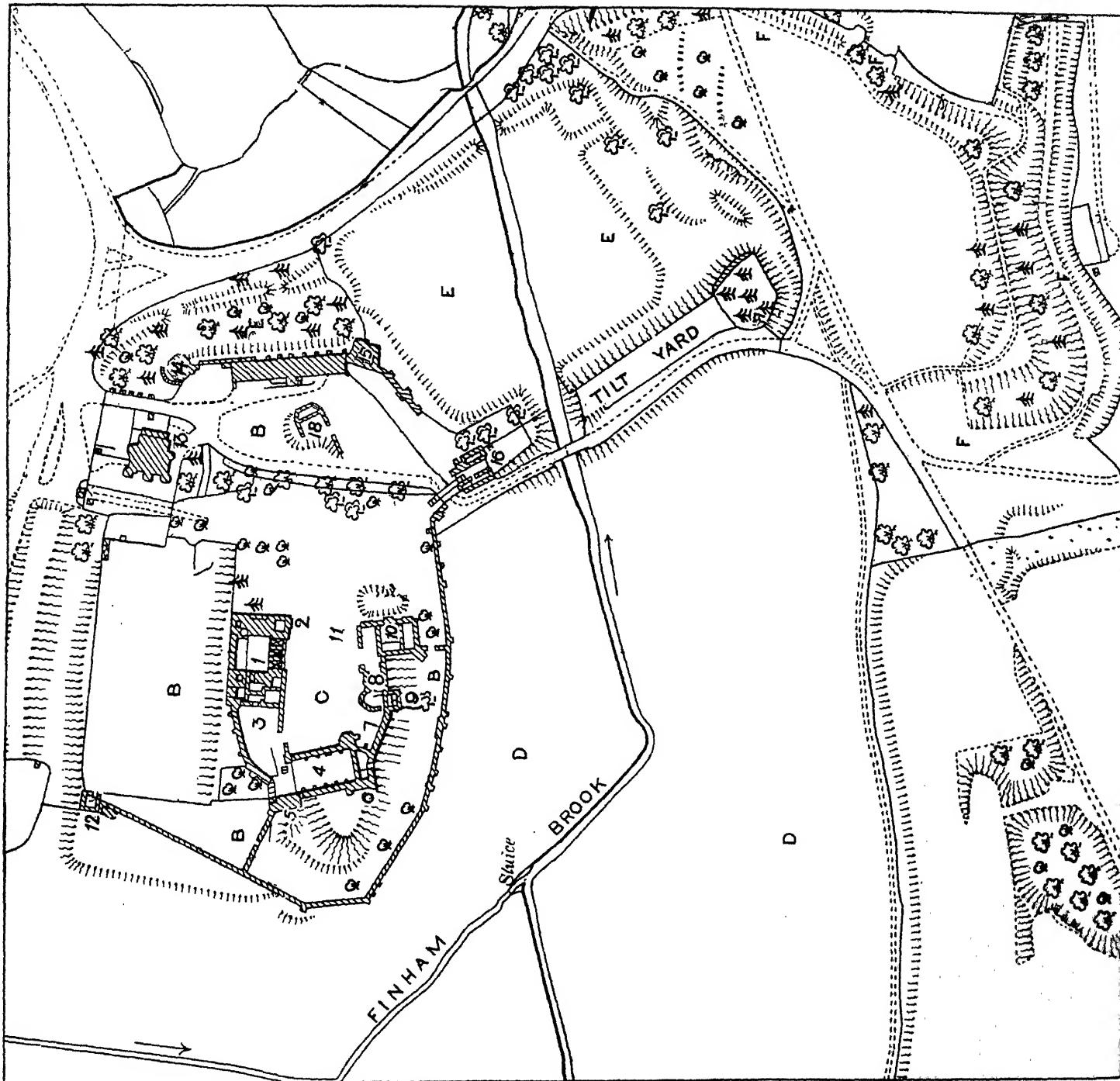
¹ In Grose's plan of 1776 the curtain walls are made to abut against the gatehouse, most of which thus projects outwardly; but this is probably an ideal presentation.

end. This was done by Col. Hawkesworth and other Roundhead officers to whom Cromwell granted the castle and manor. At the same time a gabled addition was made to the east side, and an Italian porch,¹ probably taken from Leicester's buildings, applied to the west side. The alteration in the curtain was perhaps made at the same time. The present visitor's entrance is just to the north-west, and John of Gaunt's entrance, probably destroyed by Dudley when he built his gatehouse, a little farther to the north, at the east end of the pleasure garden.

Lunn's tower, at the north-east angle, said to get its name from its defender in the great siege of 1266, has been restored in modern times. Together with Mortimer's tower it was probably blown up by Hawkesworth. It is cylindrical, and contains a basement and two upper floors. On its south side a stair turret has been added to it. The loops of the two lower storeys end in broad fantails, like those in the upper part of the keep, an arrangement which would enable an archer to shoot downwards upon assailants at the foot of the wall.

Lunn's tower projects very slightly into the ward. The Water tower—the next southwards—ranges with the curtain on this side, and perhaps got its name from projecting outwards into the water of the lower lake. It has a basement and one floor over, reached by a vice. The windows are of two lights, with trefoil heads. There is a mural garderobe below, and a small chamber projecting from the upper floor on the west. Beyond, a little nearer to the dam, is a small

¹ Mr. Knowles thought that the lintel and jambs of the new doorway came from Leicester's staircase in the forebuilding, and that the porch, from some other part of the ruins, was put on to the front of these.



KENILWORTH

- A.—CLINTON GREEN
- 7.—WHITE HALL
- B.—OUTER WARD
- 8.—PRESENCE CHAMBER
- C.—INNER WARD
- 9.—GARDERUBE TOWER
- D.—LAKE
- 10.—LEICESTER'S BUILDINGS
- E.—LOWER LAKE
- 11.—HENRY VII'S BUILDINGS
- F.—THE BRAVERS
- 12.—KEEP
- 13.—INNER GATE
- 14.—ILMENS TOWER
- 15.—WATER TOWER
- 16.—MORTIMER'S TOWER
- 17.—GALLERY TOWER
- 18.—SAINTLOVE TOWER

Reproduced from the Shropshire Survey, 1610, with the
assent of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

guard-chamber, mostly in the thickness of the curtain, containing a fireplace and a wardrobe.

Of Mortimer's tower only the lower part remains. It is a thirteenth-century gatehouse, with doors and a portcullis at either end, and lodges on either side of the entrance passage. The rear of the western lodge was fitted up with wardrobes. The entrance from the dam is flanked by drum towers, a half-round each ; each has a loop towards the field, but the eastern loop is blocked up.

Between Lunn's tower and the Water tower, against the inner side of the curtain, is a long range of farm buildings and a barn-like porch, known as Leicester's stables. The lower part is of stone, the upper of brick and timber. Probably it had its share in Dudley's many rebuildings and alterations.

Just to the west of this are the foundations of a fourteenth-century chapel, with a three-sided apse called Gaunt's chapel. It was perhaps built to take the place of the destroyed Norman chapel in the inner ward.

Any buildings of stone or wood which may have stood against the south and west sides of the outer curtain have disappeared, but traces of one or two may be seen in three loops opposite Leicester's buildings, and in a shoulder-headed window between the two large buttresses at the south-west corner. Near the latter is a postern, and there is another with steps descending to the lake in the angle west of Mortimer's tower. There are two cross-walls defending this part of the ward, one near the south-east corner of the inner ward, the greater part of which has been replaced by Leicester's buildings, and another with a doorway in the centre on the west,

probably built by Henry VIII to enclose his "Pleasance," which stretched from this point to the Swan tower. Previously the Pleasance seems to have been on the west side of the lake—the "Pleasants en Marys" (*i.e.* marshes)—and was reached by a bridge close to the Swan tower. In the west wall of the Pleasance is a large archway of 18 feet opening, which Clark thinks may have been made for the purpose of launching a boat upon the lake.

The construction of the dam across the valley to the south-east was probably contemporaneous with the building of Mortimer's gatehouse at its inner extremity—that is to say, in the time of Henry III. The object was to turn the marshy ground into the lake, which henceforward surrounded the west and south sides of the castle, while a smaller and shallower lake sustained by a lesser dam covered the east side. They would thus have been formed about the same time as those at Caerphilly. The present trench cut through the dam was the work of Hawkesworth and his friends in order to drain the lake and turn its bed into a meadow. At the outer end of the dam was another gatehouse called the Gallery tower, of which a fragment remains. The surface of the dam, the lower side of which was strengthened by a wall, not only became part of the principal approach to the castle from the south, but was also used as a tilt yard. "Such exercises," says Clark, "being attended by numbers of armed men, were usually held at the barriers, or outside the main gate of the castle, a precaution against a surprise."

Special precautions were taken to defend the approaches on this side. In front of the Gallery tower was a deep ditch crossed by a drawbridge, and,

at a short distance in front of this again, a lofty embankment was thrown up in the shape of a half-moon with a deep ditch on its outer side. This is called the Brayes or Brayz ; it has four raised mounts or "cavaliers" on its summit, and in its centre was the outermost gatehouse and drawbridge, the site of which is now marked by two solid bastions faced with ashlar. Thus any persons entering the castle from the south would have to pass through three gatehouses before they arrived at the gate of the inner ward.

The date of the building of the various parts of the castle before the time of Robert Dudley is not a matter of absolute certainty ; nevertheless the inferences that have been drawn from architectural and historical data, by such careful students as the late Mr. E. H. Knowles, may be provisionally accepted. For our purpose the history of Kenilworth begins with the grant of the manor by Henry I to his Treasurer, Geoffrey de Clinton,¹ the founder of the Priory of Kenilworth, and according to a document preserved at Stoneleigh, and seen by Mr. Knowles, he founded both priory and castle on the same day. The keep was therefore in all probability his work, and may have been built between the years 1130 and 1136. The Clinton ownership came to an end with Henry de Clinton, great-grandson of Geoffrey, but the castle was sometimes in the hands of the King, and the Pipe Rolls contain various records of sums spent on the castle from the time of Henry II down to that of Henry III. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, married Eleanor, the daughter of the last-named monarch, and in 1253 he and his wife had a

¹ Said to be the same as Glympton in Oxfordshire.

grant of the castle for their lives. Either Geoffrey de Clinton or his son, another Geoffrey, must have enclosed the inner and the outer wards, and to the latter are assigned Lunn's tower, and the Norman hall and chapel which stood in the inner ward, while the Swan tower, as well as Mortimer's tower, Gallery tower, and the Water tower, may have been built by the last de Clinton in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

After the death of Simon de Montfort, Henry III gave Kenilworth to his younger son Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, from whom it descended to his great-granddaughter Blanche, who married John of Gaunt. Gaunt was, as we know, a great builder, and the late fourteenth-century buildings covering the west and south sides of the inner ward must be his work. With his son, Henry IV, Kenilworth became once more the property of the Crown, and so it remained till in 1563 Elizabeth gave it to Robert Dudley. About 1520 Henry VIII erected the range of buildings known as Henry VIII's Lodgings, on the south side of the inner ward. They were probably knocked down into the cross-ditch by Hawkesworth and helped to fill it up.

Leicester's buildings and gatehouse have been already mentioned; they seem to have been completed by the time of the Queen's most famous visit to Kenilworth (her fourth) in 1575. He also remodelled the keep and its forebuilding and repaired the Gallery and Mortimer's towers. Altogether he is said to have spent upon the castle a sum equal to half a million of our money. He died in 1588, leaving Kenilworth to his brother Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. Ambrose died in 1590, and the castle should then have

passed to his nephew, Sir Robert Dudley, Leicester's only surviving son, but doubts being cast upon his legitimacy, he was never able to secure possession. When James came to the throne he determined to obtain the castle for his son Henry, Prince of Wales, and Sir Robert was to receive a certain sum in satisfaction of his claims. Very little of this money, however, actually reached him, and Prince Henry and his brother Charles held the estate in succession, but used it chiefly as a hunting seat. On his accession to the throne Charles granted it to the sons of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, whose representatives claimed it again at the Restoration. Its fortunes under the Protectorate, in the hands of Hawkesworth and his friends, have already been noticed. After the decease of the Careys James II gave it to Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, through whose grand-daughter it descended to its present possessor, the Earl of Clarendon.

To the student of mediæval warfare, the most interesting event in the history of the castle is the six months' siege which it sustained at the hands of Henry III after the death of Simon de Montfort at the battle of Evesham. Kenilworth was now the chief stronghold of the defeated party, though the fens round Ely also served them as a refuge. The Earl of Leicester, says the chronicler Rishanger, our chief authority for the siege, had repaired and strengthened the castle, and furnished it with several kinds of military engines hitherto unknown in England. The younger Simon, the son of the great earl, undertook the defence, assisted by Hastings and other leaders of the baronial party. On his side the King made every preparation for the siege, calling out the militia of the

counties of Warwick and Oxford, and getting together a siege train. His headquarters were on the north, the weakest side of the castle, along the high ground now traversed by the Birmingham road. After vainly summoning the garrison to surrender, he commenced operations towards the end of June 1266, nearly a year after his victory at Evesham. At first he attempted to intimidate the besieged by battering the walls with unceasing showers of stones hurled by *petrariae* (petraries), eleven of which kept playing upon the castle night and day, and when these engines produced no effect he brought up wooden towers manned with cross-bowmen and archers. Unless he managed to fill the deep ditch with fascines, which is hardly likely, these towers could not have been brought close enough to the walls to effect an entry by a forlorn hope, and must simply have served to substitute a fire of quarrels and arrows for the stone balls of the petraries. The first was "of marvellous height and breadth," and was manned by more than two hundred balisters or cross-bowmen, but it was broken to pieces by a mangonel, planted perhaps on the summit of the keep. Another, called from its huge size "the Bear," and furnished with stages one above the other, manned with archers, was also silenced by the petraries of the garrison. An attempt was then made upon the other side of the castle: barges were brought overland from Chester at a great expense and launched on the lake, but this also proved a failure. It is specially noticed by the chronicler that no attempt was made either to mine the walls or to take the castle by storm; so that it is clear that the defenders managed to keep the enemy at a respectful distance. Indeed, they seem to have had the best of the affair throughout; they kept

their gates wide open from morning to night, and made constant sallies, inflicting great losses on the besiegers. In one of these they severely wounded and took prisoner a Royalist of noble birth, who afterwards died in the castle, begging that his body might be restored to his friends. It is a pleasant sign of the courtesies observed by the belligerents, even in those ruthless days, that the dying man's wishes were complied with and his corpse was carried out on a bier surrounded with lighted tapers, and conveyed in solemn procession to the King's outposts.

So the siege dragged on through the autumn. On All Saints' Day the general amnesty called the Ban or Dictum of Kenilworth was agreed to by both parties at Coventry, and the besieged were therefore called upon to surrender. Their only answer was to line the walls with their troops and parade their defiance by a lavish display of pennons and banners. It was now clear that if the Dictum was not to end in a mere farce, the place must be reduced at any cost, and the King at last ordered up pioneers and sappers with the intention of taking it by storm, but no further efforts on his part were required: famine and disease were by this time doing their work. The water was bad, and the garrison, reduced to the necessity of eating their horses, surrendered on the 12th of December. Such was the end of the great siege of Kenilworth, a siege eminently typical of such operations in the days before the introduction of artillery, when the strength of a fortress was measured by its capacity for holding out, and the efficiency of the attack by the ability of the general to keep his forces together.

Towards the end of 1326, when the fugitive Edward II was captured by the Queen's party, he

was taken to Kenilworth, then in the possession of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, who had been restored to the honours forfeited by his brother Thomas at Pontefract. Here, in January 1327, perhaps in the old Norman hall, perhaps in the great chamber of the keep, he received the deputation which arrived from the Parliament at Westminster to announce that the allegiance of his subjects had been transferred to his son, and here he accepted his fate and tendered his resignation of the crown.

Mention has already been made of Elizabeth's nineteen days' visit to Kenilworth in 1575, so familiar to all the readers of Scott's novel. A detailed contemporary account is preserved in Robert Laneham's letter to his "Good Freend, Master Humfrey Martin, Mercer," and George Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures* may also be consulted. The Queen entered the castle from Warwick by the Brayz Gate and passed along the dam through Mortimer's Tower into the outer ward. The ditch in front of the east side of the inner ward was then still in existence, and Leicester had constructed a bridge across it by which the Queen and her suite reached the gate adjoining the keep. The glories of the allegorical devices with which this bridge was adorned, and of the pageants and revels which Leicester so lavishly provided for the entertainment of his royal mistress, may be read at length in the accounts just mentioned.



CASTLE RISING, KEEP

CHAPTER XXI

CASTLE RISING

THE most considerable Norman keeps remaining in the eastern counties are those of Castle Rising, Norwich, Colchester, and Hedingham. Of these, the three first in their present condition are remarkable for the extent of their length and breadth, as compared with their height, while the proportions of the last are more on the scale of those of Rochester, Portchester, or Richmond. All four castles, however, agree in having little or no buildings remaining beyond the keep itself.

The village of Castle Rising, which lies about four miles north-east of King's Lynn, is not only famous for its castle, but for its fine Norman church and its hospital for aged women, founded in 1609 by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and brother of the fourth Duke of Norfolk. The Norman castle was built on a site already fortified by the prehistoric settlers in the district with gigantic entrenchments covering no less than thirteen acres, and consisting of a central enclosure of a rounded oblong shape with a rectangular appendage on either side. The central area, which measures about 80 yards north and south by 67 yards east and west, is surrounded by its own ditch, from the bottom of which the embankment rises

to a height of about 60 feet. Each of the appendages, of which the eastern one is the larger, has its own independent ditch, the whole thus forming three divisions or wards, of which the central one contained the castle and the two outer ones served as enclosures for cattle.

The approach to the castle is carried along the edge of the counterscarp of the main ditch on the north, and then, bending to the right, enters the eastern appendage, and about half-way down the east side of the central ward crosses the ditch by a bridge, of which one arch, of fourteenth-century date, remains. At its farther end a space, now built up, was crossed by a drawbridge lowered from the gatehouse, which occupies an opening cut in the embankment. Only the lower part of this gatehouse remains : it has a round arch at either end (the outer one with a portcullis), the passage between them being 13 feet in length. The upper storey was perhaps reached by a stair in the south-west corner, where there are some remains of a doorway. This gatehouse is Norman, of the same date as the keep. If the summit of the embankment was crowned by a Norman curtain, no traces of it remain, but just south of the gatehouse a short piece of a brick curtain of Tudor date is still standing ; it has an arcading on its inner surface which carried the allure.

The visitor, on entering, has his attention at once arrested by the magnificent keep, which stands opposite to him on the western side of the enclosure. The side facing him is covered by the forebuilding, the northern end of which forms a square tower containing the vestibule, of the same height as the keep itself, while the southern portion, of half the width of the

other, was composed of two sections, the one higher than the other, as is shown by the roof marks still visible on the keep wall; but the difference between the two levels has now practically disappeared. This southern portion of the forebuilding, which contains the stairway leading to the main entrance of the keep, is very richly ornamented. The door on its south face is set in a round arch, moulded and with side shafts. Above the arch is a corbel table supporting a band of diamond-shaped ornaments, and above this two arches of an arcade which is carried round the east face; above again is a stringcourse of chevrons, and then a line of circles containing carved heads, both these ornaments being also continued on the east face. The angle, like those of the vestibule tower and of the keep itself, is formed by the meeting of two flat buttresses containing nook shafts. The two sections of the east face are also separated by a flat buttress, and the arches of the arcade on the upper one are interlaced. The vestibule tower has a prison on the ground floor, lighted only by two loops high up in the east wall, and probably entered through a trapdoor in the floor of the vestibule. The present entrance has been cut at the ground level on the south side in a curious round-headed and very lofty recess, the purpose of which seems to have been to give room for two shafts corresponding with those at the buttress angles. The first floor is occupied by the vestibule chamber, and is lighted by one round-headed window on the south, and two on each of the other two sides; the latter are separated by a very elegant pilaster. It should be noticed that neither the buttresses nor the pilasters of this tower rise above the stringcourse dividing the two upper floors. The second floor has

been much modernized, and its windows are now shoulder-headed on the outside. A most inappropriate red-tiled roof, with east and west brick gables, has been stuck on to the top of the tower.

The exterior of the keep itself may now be briefly described. It is 64 feet north and south and 75 feet east and west, but the forebuilding adds 20 feet to the north and 9 feet to the south side. The height is 50 feet. The north and south sides are relieved by three flat pilasters between the buttresses at the angles ; the east side has one above the roof of the forebuilding. The west front owes its peculiar appearance to the fact that the garderobes are placed on this side ; the shafts open into the soffits of arches which are built against the wall. There were two pairs of arches connected with garderobes on the first floor, but the pair to the south have fallen away and been replaced by a single arch of recent construction. The lofty arch just north of this must have served for the shafts of garderobes either on the battlements or reached from a wooden gallery high up against the wall inside. The material of the keep is flint rubble laid in regular courses, but the buttresses and the whole of the forebuilding are cased with ashlar. The stringcourse round the top marks the base of the battlements, and just below it are several round holes for the escape of water. The buttresses at the angles terminated in square turrets.

The interior consists of a basement and first floor, and conforms to the ordinary type of these keeps by being divided into a north and south chamber by a cross-wall rising to the roof. The north-east and south-west corners each contain a vice, by which the basement could be entered from the floor above, but there is also a door into the south chamber opening on

the left from the foot of the main staircase. Entering the basement by this door, it will be noticed that the south chamber was divided transversely by three arches, of which the eastern one only remains, the space within it being immediately beneath the chapel. There are four loops in the south wall and one in the west, while in the centre of the cross-wall is the door opening into the north chamber. This, which is much the wider of the two, is again divided lengthways by a central arcade of four arches, all of which are gone except the westernmost, and this divides two vaulted spaces entered by transverse arches springing from the pillar. The well, occupying much the same position as Rochester and Richmond, was beneath the second arch from the east. In the north wall are four loops, the easternmost of which lights a small mural chamber, and in the west three, of which the middle one has been at some time or other widened into a door now built up.

The visitor may now ascend to the first floor by the main staircase. The doorway at the foot has already been described. Half-way up the stairs is a landing and a second door, set like the one below in a round arch with side shafts. In the soffit of the arch is a *meurtrière*, now blocked up, and above was a parapet with a loop looking down the staircase. At the top a third doorway of the same character as the other two opens into the vestibule. This chamber originally had a flat timber ceiling, but in the fourteenth century it was replaced by the present vaulting in two bays. On the left, as the chamber is entered, is the magnificent archway which formed the principal entrance to the keep, now unfortunately blocked up to serve as a fireplace. It is a semicircular arch of three orders, with

roll mouldings separated by a double row of chevrons, each order having side shafts with cushion capitals. To the right of this is a narrow doorway (probably enlarged from a loop) leading into the vice, and thence into the upper floor of the keep.

The north chamber was the hall : its west end is cut off by a cross-wall, and contains two rooms resting on the vaults below. At the west end of the south (or cross) wall is the door opening into the south chamber, east of this two recesses, and then a small round-headed window and a door, both opening into the ante-chapel. Close to this in the east wall is another door opening into a mural passage, which, when followed southwards, leads on the left to the parapet walk over the middle doorway of the vestibule stairs, and on the right into the ante-chapel. The main entrance to the keep from the vestibule is at the north end of the east wall, and between this and the door into the mural passage is another door, probably cut out from an original loop, from which ten steps descend on to the main staircase. By this door the hall could be entered without going through the vestibule, but its utility is not very apparent. The north or external wall is pierced by a gallery at the floor level divided by cross arches of a very rude character into five bays, each with an opening into the hall. The easternmost bay, according to Clark, was partially screened off. In its floor are three or four small shafts, now filled up, descending to the mural chamber below ; their use, as Clark says, is "obscure."¹ In the north wall of this bay is a coupled round-headed window, the dividing shaft ornamented with knots ; the third bay also has a coupled window, but square-headed ; the second and

¹ *M.M.A.* i. 370,

fourth bays have single trefoil-headed windows, and the fifth a small loop.

The turret, if it may so be called, at the east end of the gallery is occupied by the vice, that at the west end by the kitchen fireplace; the chimney-shaft has loops and smaller openings for the escape of the smoke and steam. Immediately east of this fireplace turret in the north wall is a broken window now shored up, and next to it a loop, while opposite is the entrance to the northernmost of the two rooms at the west end of the hall, having in its east wall a recess with two small openings, through which dishes might be passed. In the west wall is a loop and in the south wall a low relieving arch, through which it is now possible to creep into the passage dividing this room from the one to the south of it, which Clark thinks was probably "a sort of still-room for light cooking or pastry." West of this arch are two niches, and in the north-west corner, at the floor level, a drain. The passage just mentioned opens at its east end from the hall, and at its other end, turning at right angles to the left, becomes a vaulted gallery containing two double garderobes in its west wall, lighted by loops. The "still room" also has relieving arches in its north and south walls, and is entered from the hall at its south-east corner.

As the north chamber or hall is shortened at its west end by the kitchens, so the south chamber is shortened at its east end by the chapel and ante-chapel. In the south wall are two windows, much broken, between which a later fireplace and chimney have been inserted, and west of these a recess, and a doorway opening into a lobby leading to the vice in the angle—both now built up to the spring of the arches. In the east is a pointed doorway leading into the chapel—

probably an insertion—and in the north-east corner is a recess. There are three garderobes at the west end, entered by two doors in the west wall, and one close to the communication with the hall. Like the hall, this chamber had a lofty open roof, and high up in its western gable is a pointed two-light window set in a round-headed recess, which may have lighted a wooden gallery projecting into the chamber from the west wall.

The ante-chapel and chapel are now reached only by the mural passage opening from the hall already mentioned. The ante-chapel and the recess forming the east end of the chapel are vaulted; the greater part of the chapel has a flat timber ceiling. Two loops, contracted in the centre like an hour-glass, are pierced in the wall dividing the chapel from the ante-chapel, probably to give light to the latter before the window in its north wall was made. The chapel has a wide recess in its south, and another, vaulted, in its east wall; the former contained a large triple window, now broken, and the latter formed the chancel. The arch has side shafts with cushion capitals, and there are nook shafts in the four corners; the vaulting is ribbed, with heads carved at the intersection. The east window is broken away and shored up, and on the south side is a recess lighted by a loop now blocked, and an aumbry. An arcading with detached shafts was carried round the lower part of the north, west, and south sides of the main body of the chapel.

There are two rooms only in the upper part of the keep, one over the vestibule and the other over the chapel. Ascending the vice from the hall, a long passage in the thickness of the east wall is reached, and a door opening out of this on the left gives admission to the upper storey of the vestibule tower. This

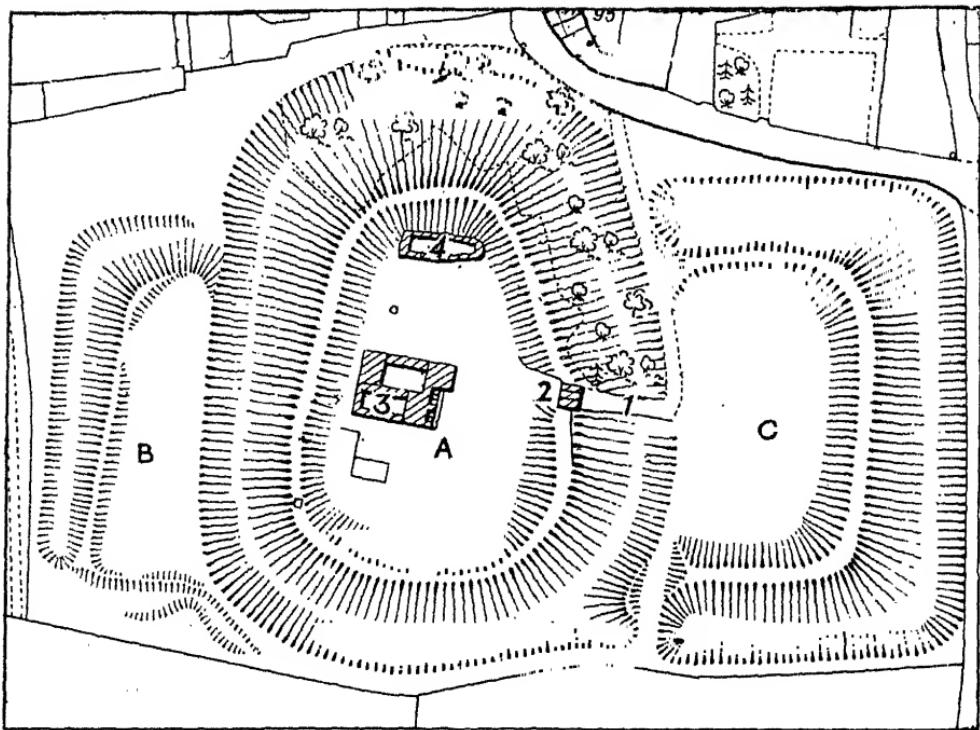
room has been whitewashed and has had a fireplace inserted in its south wall. Like the room below, a fourteenth-century vaulting of two bays has been inserted, the ribs of which spring from piers built into the original wall. The vaulting beneath seems to have entailed the raising of the floor above its first level. Returning to the mural passage, there is on the right first a loop and then, clear of the forebuilding, a larger window, both lighting the gable end of the hall; the latter is evidently an insertion, cutting as it does a band of chevrons with which this end of the hall is ornamented. Opposite on the left is a round-headed window looking across the roof of the upper part of the main staircase. At its south end, where there is a loop also looking over the stairs, the passage turns to the right, and leads to the room over the chapel, which has a comparatively large two-light window to the south, now glazed and conspicuous from the outside.

The fourteenth-century alterations in the keep show that it was inhabited at least as late as that period, and its large size would render it more suitable for domestic purposes than a mere tower. But there were other "houses" in the ward, though no record of their erection remains. In the reign of Edward IV the whole castle was in such decay that "not a house in it" was able to keep out rain, wind, or snow, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century we hear of unfinished repairs to a porter's lodge, constable's lodging, Nightingale tower, hall, great chamber, chapel, gallery between the hall and great chamber, kitchen, buttery, and pantry; other "houses" were to be taken down to repair them, and it was a question whether the keep should be unroofed and its tiles and gutters sold. By the middle of the same century the keep seems to have been

reduced to pretty much the same condition as it is at present, and at the time of the Great Armada it was reported that the castle was in such a ruinous state that if it were pulled down it would not be worth more than 100 marks. By this time, too, the rabbits had begun to riddle the mounds with their burrows, and the area of the ward gradually became so silted up with sand and other debris that in the early part of the last century many thousand loads of rubbish were carted away.

Of the buildings just enumerated, if we except the porter's lodge and some foundations of uncertain date on the south side of the keep, the only building of which any traces remain is the chapel, the remains of which are close under the embankment on the north side, and indeed, until the clearance just mentioned, were embedded in the sand that had fallen from it. It was about 42 feet long, of a common Norman type, consisting of nave, choir, and apse, the three parts being divided by arches ; but very little is now to be seen.

Castle Rising never played any prominent part in the general history of the country, and is best known for its connexion with Queen Isabella, the widow of Edward II. Before the Conquest the manor belonged to Archbishop Stigand, and was given by the Conqueror to Bishop Odo of Bayeux and by Rufus to William de Albini, the father of the William de Albini who by his marriage with Queen Adeliza, the widow of Henry I, became lord of Arundel. Thus both Castle Rising and Arundel remained in the same family till the death of Hugh de Albini without issue in 1243, when the inheritance was divided, and just as his sister Isabel carried Arundel to John FitzAlan, so



CASTLE RISING

- A.—CENTRAL AREA
- B.—WESTERN OUTWORK
- C.—EASTERN OUTWORK
- 1.—BRIDGE
- 2.—GATEHOUSE
- 3.—KEEP
- 4.—CHAPEL

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his sister Cecily brought Castle Rising to her husband, Roger, lord of Montalt, whose grandson, Robert de Montalt, in 1327 sold the reversion of the estate to the Crown for the benefit of the young King's mother. Four years later Isabella, then only thirty-six, entered upon possession, and here for the rest of her life she spent a great part of her time. But she had other estates on which she also resided, and it was not here but at her castle of Hertford that she died in 1358. She entertained her son Edward III several times at Castle Rising, where, in spite of her past transgressions, she seems to have led a life of ease and comfort.¹ After her days it came to the house of York and so to the Crown, till from Henry VIII it passed by exchange to the fourth Duke of Norfolk, and in 1693 by purchase to Thomas Howard, third Earl of Berkshire, one of whose representatives is the present owner.

The village had a mayor till 1883, among whose duties was the supervision of weights and measures, including the price of articles of general consumption. Those who infringed the regulations, or "assize" as it was termed, were punished by having heavy blocks of wood chained on to them. Two such blocks and chains, once familiarly known as "Roaring Meg" and "Pretty Betty," are now in the vestibule chamber of the castle.

¹ From the accounts of the chamberlain of the borough of King's Lynn printed by the Historical MSS. Commission (eleventh Report, App. III., pp. 213-219), it appears that from 1332 to 1357 "Isabell the old Queen" was repeatedly the recipient of presents from the Corporation, consisting of wine, flesh meats, swans, lampreys, turbot, sturgeon, herrings, and oats for her horses. We also hear of "tribute" (manorial dues?) and falcons for her steward: hawking and hunting would be the regular pastimes of a great country lady.

CHAPTER XXII

BROUGHAM

ABOUT a mile and a half south-east of Penrith, the river Eamont, which unites the foot of Ulleswater with the Eden, is crossed by the modern road from Appleby. This follows the same line as the old Roman road from York to Carlisle, which crossed the river by a ford rather below the present bridge. On the left of the road just before it descended to the ford was the fort of Brovacum, of which the greater part of the entrenchments can still be traced. To the east rises the Pennine Chain, to the west the mountains of the Lake District, the wide vale between the two forming the basin of the Eden. The Eamont thus forms a barrier right across the road from south to north; and the same strategic considerations which led the Romans to select this spot for their fort of Brovacum, led the Norman lord a thousand years later to build here his castle of Brougham.

The view of the castle as it is approached from Penrith is extremely striking: the Norman keep, rising proudly above the later buildings, and the well-weathered exterior of the north and east fronts, diversified by buttresses of considerable projection and by many windows and loops, with the long sweep



BROUGHAM FROM THE NORTHEAST

of the river in the foreground, combine to form a picture full of promise. On entering the castle, however, the expectations built upon a distant view are doomed to disappointment: here all is desolation and neglect; even the simple precaution of keeping down the rank grass and all the inevitable tangle of nettles and brambles is not taken, and the visitor must force his way through the obstacles with such temper and energy as is left him.

Just above the castle the Lowther joins the Eamont from the south; its course for its last 30 or 40 yards was formerly nearer the west side of the castle than it is at present, and the marshy ground on its right bank which lies under the walls of the castle is bounded by a double ditch; on the other three sides the ditch is single, and to the south-east is the Roman camp. The ruins themselves, apart from the enceinte, consist of the keep with a very remarkable double gatehouse attached to its north face, a tower at the south-west angle of the main road, and the remains of some domestic buildings on its south side. The original castle consisted of the keep, probably erected about 1170, surrounded by the bailey protected by the ditch and a palisade or curtain. The other buildings were added in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The two gatehouses forming the main entrance are on the east side, and are separated by a small open court bounded by the keep on the south, and on the north by a later building consisting of a basement and three floors; Mr. Towry Whyte¹ dates this building about 1380, and the gatehouses earlier, the eastern about 1270, the western about 1315. Above the

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. lviii.

outer doorway is a stone with the inscription, "Thys made Roger," perhaps the last, who died in 1390, of the three Rogers de Clifford. It was, however, only in the last century that this stone was set up in its present position; in the seventeenth century it is known to have been over the inner gatehouse, and it was afterwards used to build the mill weir just above the castle, where in 1839, when part of the weir was washed away by a flood, it was discovered. It follows that its date, and the part of the building referred to, must remain an open question. Above the stone are three square holes, perhaps intended for the joists of a hoard to defend the entrance. This gatehouse has a barrel-vaulted passage, and two floors above it, each of which has two fine windows over the entrance to the east, one window to the north, and a fireplace in the west wall. In the jambs of the north window on the second floor are passages, that on the east leading to a garderobe in the great corner buttress, and that on the west to the third floor of the later building.

Both the outer and the inner gatehouse had a portcullis at the first gate, and both had a second gate at the farther end of the passage, opening inwards. Passing into the small courtyard and looking up at the face of the second gatehouse, a fine Decorated window is seen over the gate on the right. The entrance passage of this gatehouse has two bays of quadripartite vaulting; on the left is the lodge (in the outer gatehouse it was on the right), and on the right a passage which, after turning to the left, ends in a small room lighted by two loops: that to the west commands a postern in the east side of the western-most buttress, and that on the east, originally external,

now looks into the first-floor room of the later building. This gatehouse also has two floors on a level with the second and third floors of the later building to the east. The room on the first floor has the east window already mentioned, and a north window in the west jamb of which is a door leading to a vice which descends to the postern. Behind the vice the buttress contains a wardrobe, reached by a long passage in the south and west walls; the fireplace is in the north-west angle. The second floor has fireplace and wardrobe above those below, and windows to the north, east, and south. The inner gateway opens into the main ward.

The keep is 44 feet square, and rises to a great height. When viewed from the south the two gatehouses are seen to project from either end of the north face. Flat pilasters cover the north-west and south-west angles; at the other two there is only one pilaster, the east side having been covered by a forebuilding. The corners were terminated by square turrets. Part of the south wall of the forebuilding is still standing, pierced with later windows, above which is the corbelled out-shoot of a wardrobe. The keep contained a basement and three floors, and the original entrance was on the first floor, reached by the staircase contained in the forebuilding. The north-east angle contained the vice, and the north-west the wardrobes.

The basement is lighted by splayed loops to the north, west, and south; on the east side is a doorway which must have opened into the undercroft of the forebuilding, just to the north of which has been cut a later skew entrance leading to the foot of the vice and on into the basement. But the whole is much

choked with fallen stones and rubbish, and visitors have now to make their way in through the broken western loop. The basement originally had a flat timber roof; but early in the fourteenth century, when the second gatehouse was built, this was replaced, as at Richmond, with a vault, the ribs of which sprang from a central pillar still standing in Grose's time (1775).

At the same time that this vaulting was made, a low arcading was carried round the room above on the first floor, some traces of which remain. Much of the walling on the east side of this floor is modern patching, but the north jamb and part of the arch of the entrance from the forebuilding may be detected. The fireplace is in the south wall, and there are splayed loops in the north and west walls. In the east jamb of the north window is a doorway now blocked up leading to a small square chamber in the thickness of the wall, which Mr. Towry Whyte thinks may possibly have been a well-chamber. The garderobe passage in the north-west corner has had its north wall cut through into the first floor of the gatehouse.

The second floor also has a fireplace in the south wall and north and west loops. In the east wall is a round-headed doorway which may have led on to the roof of the forebuilding, and to the north of this is a right-angled passage to the vice.

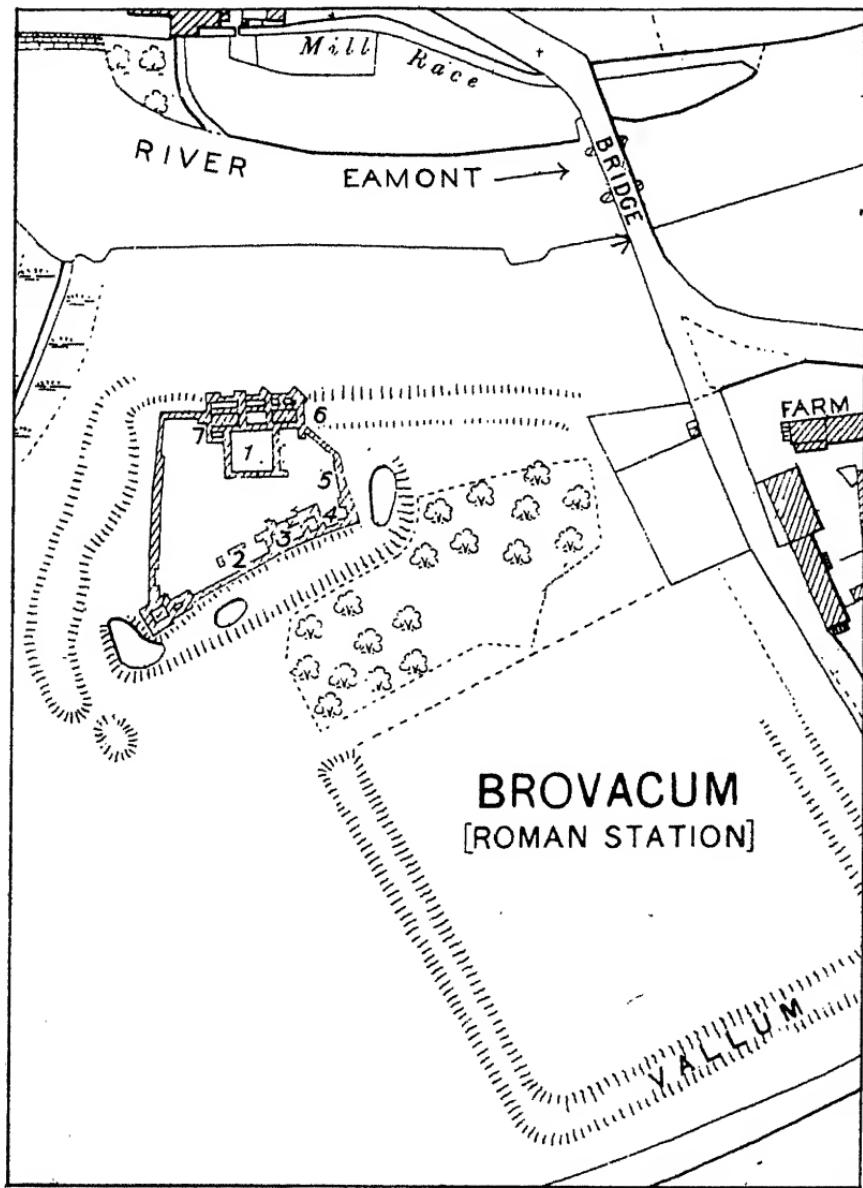
The third floor is the most interesting, but can only be properly inspected by means of ladders. If it is not altogether an early fourteenth-century addition, the interior was reconstructed at that date. At the floor level is a projecting course which supported the joists, and the four corners of the room have

been cut off by short cross-walls, the north-western being occupied by a fireplace with a flat hood. An inner wall has also been constructed, so as to have a mural passage between it and the outer wall, with loops to the exterior, and doors opening into the room; on the east side this passage leads only to the vice. But the great feature of this floor is the beautiful little oratory in the south-east angle, which is carried out exteriorly for about 12 inches on a moulded cornice, supported on the south side by two highly finished grotesque heads. The interior of the oratory is an irregular octagon with a vaulted roof, a small trefoil-headed east window, and a loop to the south. At the entrance from the south mural passage are stone seats; on the south side of the altar-place is a piscina, and on the north an ambry. North of this again is a door leading into a small vestry contrived in the thickness of the east wall, and another doorway opening into the living room. On the north wall, near the north-west angle, part of the chimney is left, a conspicuous object in any distant view of the castle.

The rectangular tower, which fills up the south-western corner of the main ward, consists of a basement and two floors, and appears to be of the same date as the outer gatehouse. At the point where it is joined by the west curtain is a postern, and corbelled out almost over it the shoot of a garderobe on the second floor: west of this is the bulge of the vice which led to the battlements. The basement chamber has a fireplace in the south-west corner, and on the side a long right-angled passage leading to a garderobe in the south curtain. The first floor communicates with the alure of the south curtain, and the second

floor by a flight of steps with that of the west curtain. The entrance to this tower is in the north-east corner near the postern.

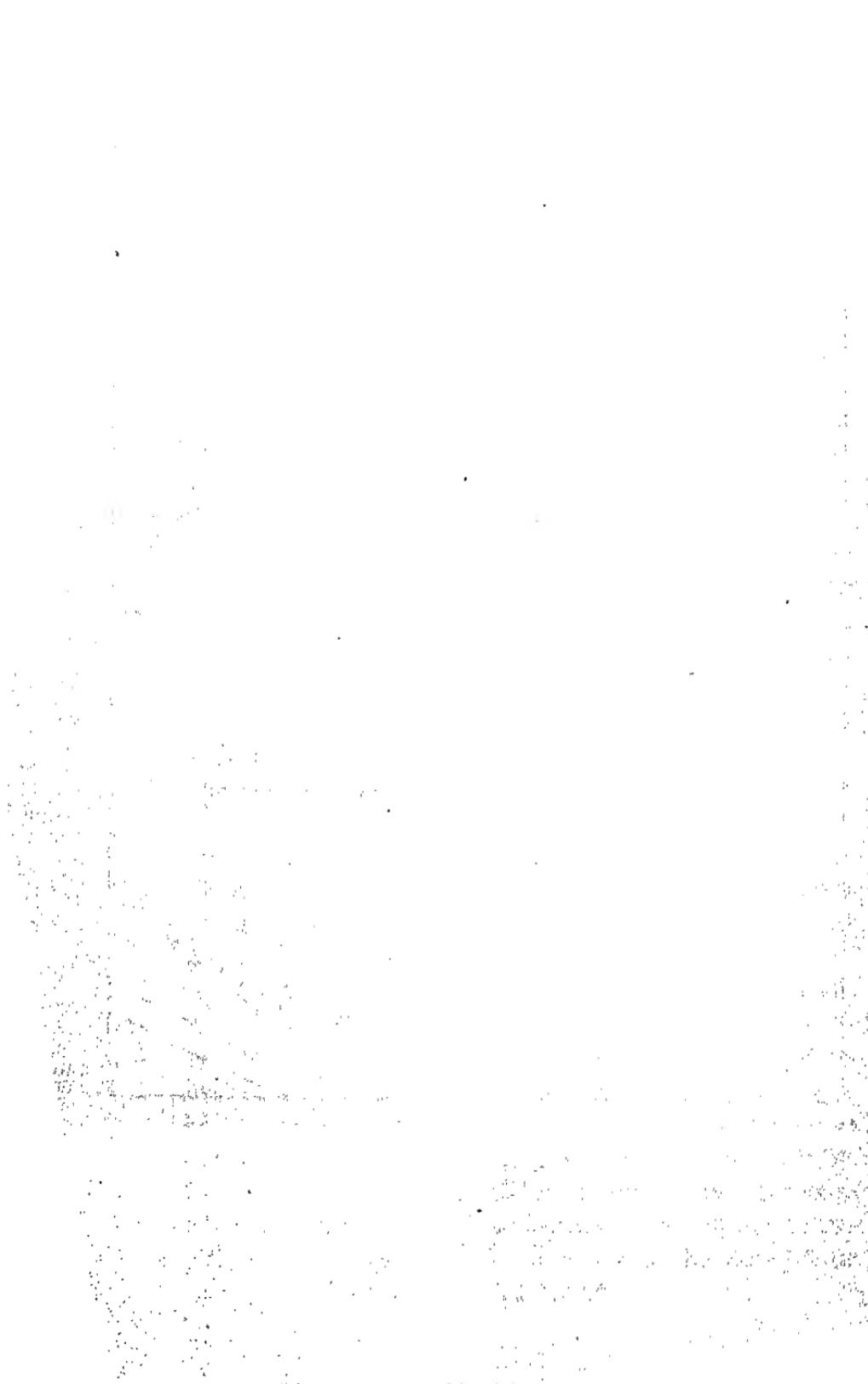
The buildings along the south curtain are so dilapidated and choked with rubbish that it is difficult to make anything out of them. Beginning on the west we have, according to Mr. Towry Whyte, first the great chamber, and next to it the chapel, both on the first floor, then a yard, and then the kitchen filling up the south-east corner; lastly, north of the kitchen along the east curtain, the hall. About the chapel there can be no doubt, for three sedilia and a piscina can be made out in the south wall, and on the north side are the remains of a small projecting tower, approached by an external staircase on its east side. The first floor of this tower, on a level with the chapel, may have contained a porch or vestry, and over it was a room perhaps used by the priest. The cross-wall dividing the chamber from the chapel contains in its north end a door communicating with the chapel, then a window looking into the chapel, and then the entrance to the chamber, reached by a vice in the south curtain. The chapel had a large east window, and two splayed, trefoil-headed windows in the south curtain. The kitchen had its fireplace on the south, and one window to the east of it in the south curtain, and two in the east curtain. The hall had a window and fireplace on its east side, but its other sides are utterly gone. The wall which now joins the south-east corner of the gatehouse with the point where the north end of the hall would have been is modern. Mr. Whyte assigns the great chamber and kitchen to the same period as the outer gatehouse and the south-west tower (*c.* 1270), and the chapel to the date of the



BROUGHAM

- 1.—KEEP
- 2.—GREAT CHAMBER
- 3.—CHAPEL
- 4.—KITCHEN
- 5.—HALL
- 6.—OUTER GATEHOUSE
- 7.—INNER GATEHOUSE

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inner gatehouse and the top storey of the keep—some half-century later.

It is with the great family of Clifford that Brougham Castle is chiefly associated. It came into their possession in 1291, when Robert de Clifford inherited it from his mother, Isabel de Veteripont or Vipont, and remained with them till 1676, when it passed by marriage to the Tuftons, earls of Thanet. The last Earl of Thanet died in 1849, and under his will the castle then came to the family of its present owner, Lord Hothfield. The history of the castle before the Clifford ownership is, to say the least, obscure. William de Vipont married Maud, sister of Hugh de Morville, who died in 1204; his son Robert, who also held estates in Devon, died in 1227, and the Isabel who married into the Cliffords was his great-granddaughter. Perhaps Maud de Morville brought the castle to her husband, whose descendants certainly owned it. However this may be, the earliest name commonly connected with Brougham since the Conquest is that of Randolph le Meschin (*i.e.* the young), who succeeded to the earldom of Chester in 1121, and is said to have then surrendered to Henry I the lordship of the district of Cumberland, which he had shortly before acquired, and which may have connected him with Brougham.

If the dates assigned by Mr. Towry Whyte, on architectural evidence, to the different portions of the castle are correct, we may now attempt to assign them to their respective builders. (1) To begin with the keep—about 1170: Hugh de Morville, or whoever it was who owned the place at that time. (2) The outer gatehouse (at least its lower part), the south-west tower, the great chamber, and the kitchen—about 1270:

Roger de Clifford, who died 1282, and his wife Isabel de Vipont. (3) The upper storey of the outer gatehouse, the inner gatehouse, the interior of the third storey of the keep, with the oratory and the chapel—about 1315: Roger Clifford (grandson of the last), partisan of the Earl of Lancaster, executed at York 1322.¹ (4) The building on the north side of the small court between the gatehouses—about 1380: Roger Clifford (nephew of the last), who died 1389.

Besides Brougham, the Clifford castles in Westmorland were Brough, commanding the pass of Stainmore; Pendragon, commanding the pass of Mallerstang, and Appleby: while in Yorkshire the two great houses of the family were Skipton Castle, and Bardon Tower in Wharfdale, the favourite residence of the shepherd lord. This lord, who, as readers of Wordsworth know well, was restored to the honours of his family (forfeited by their attachment to the Lancastrian cause) on the accession of Henry VII, repaired the damages done to some of his castles in the late wars—Brougham perhaps among the number. His great-grandson George, third Earl of Cumberland, was one of the great naval adventurers of Elizabeth's reign. He left a daughter, Anne Clifford, who on the death of her cousin, the last earl, in 1643, succeeded to the vast family estates.

The name of this remarkable woman is now associated with Brougham more emphatically than that of any of its other possessors. Thanks to her mother, a Russell—for her father troubled himself little with his domestic affairs—she received an excellent education (she was a pupil of Samuel Daniel), and became one

¹ But his father Robert, slain at Bannockburn, 1314, seems quite as likely.

of the most cultivated women of her day. She had a strong character and a good business capacity, and like her ancestor, the shepherd lord, when she came into her property she set to work to restore her castles, which had all suffered more or less in the Civil War. She was fond of recording her work on inscribed stones. The one at Brougham has disappeared, but the inscription, preserved in an eighteenth-century county history,¹ is as follows :

This Brougham castle was repaired by the ladie Anne Clifford, countesse dowager of Pembroke, Dorsett, and Montgomery, baronesse Clifford, Westmerland, and Veseie, ladie of the honour of Skipton in Craven, and high sheriffe by inheritance of the countie of Westmerland in the yeares 1651 and 1652 after it had layen ruinous ever since about August 1617, when King James² lay in it for a time in his journie out of Skotland towards London, until this time.

Isa. chap. 58, verse 12.³
God's name be praised.

She resided in each of her six castles in turn, and died at Brougham in her eighty-seventh year, March 1676. Her latter years were partly devoted to writing her own memoirs, and partly to compiling records of her family. For the rest, "she diffused plenty and happiness around her, by consuming on the spot the produce of her vast domains in hospitality and charity . . . her house was a school for the young, and a retreat for the aged ; an asylum for the persecuted, a college for the learned,

¹ Nicholson and Burn, *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 1777.

² He was entertained here for three days by Francis, Earl of Cumberland.

³ And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places : thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations ; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.

and a pattern for all."¹ Unfortunately the most racy story relating to her is only an eighteenth-century forgery.² It appeared in *The World* in 1753, and purported to be a reply sent by her to Charles II's Secretary of State, who had, so the contributor alleged, recommended to her a candidate for her pocket borough of Appleby :

" I have been bullied by an Usurper ; I have been neglected by a Court ; but I will not be dictated to by a Subject. Your man shan't stand.

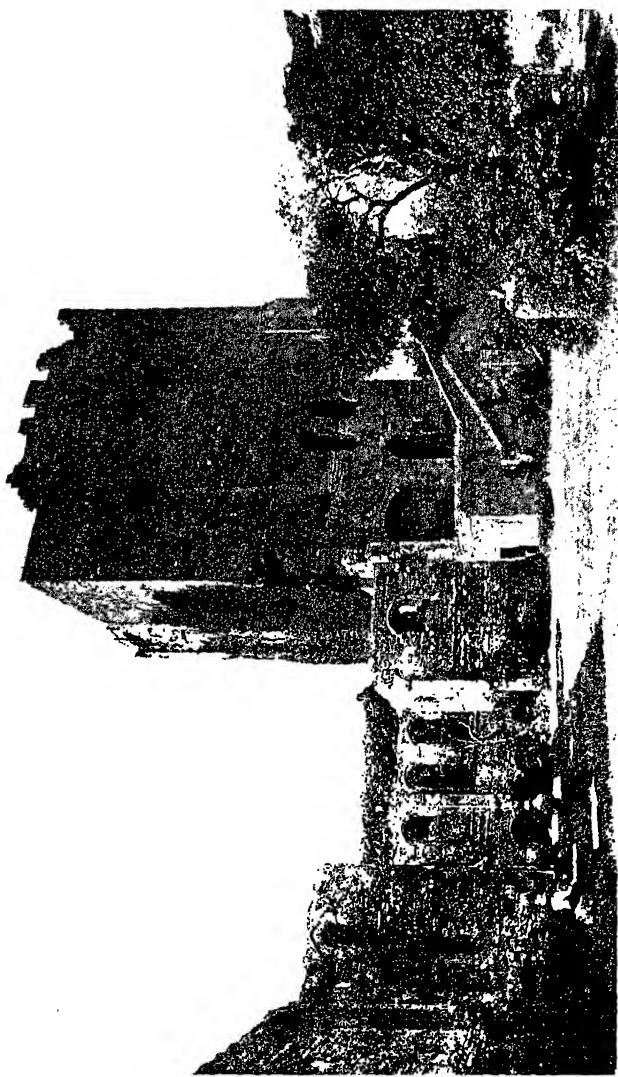
" ANNE DORSET, PEMBROKE, AND MONTGOMERY "

We need not however have any hesitation in believing that the Countess was quite capable of a retort of this kind in the contingency imagined—though not quite in this language.

She was twice married, first to the third Earl of Dorset, who died in 1624, and secondly to the fourth Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1650, and whom she survived for a quarter of a century. It was her daughter Margaret Sackville who carried the estates to the Tufton family by her marriage with the second Earl of Thanet. Four of her sons succeeded to the earldom, one after the other, but none of them cared to keep Brougham Castle in repair, and the last of them, Earl Thomas, sold most of the materials and fittings to two Penrith lawyers, who to make the best of their bargain proceeded to dispose of them by public auction, the first sale taking place on George I's coronation day. Thus within fifty years was the good work of the great countess undone and " the foundations of many generations " abandoned.

¹ Whitaker, *History of Craven*, ed. 1878, p. 385.

² Lodge's *Portraits*, vol. viii.



PORTCHESTER, KEEP



CHAPTER XXIII

PORTCHESTER¹

IN the course of the fourth century, when adventurers from the other side of the German Ocean began to make predatory descents upon the coasts of Britain, a line of eight forts stretching from the Wash to Beachy Head was constructed by the Roman Governor to keep off the invaders. The coast-line thus defended received the name of *Litus Saxonicum*, or Saxon Shore, and was put into the charge of an officer entitled *Comes Litoris Saxonici*. About the same time a ninth fort seems to have been added still farther to the west, at Portchester, the walls of which still form the outer defences of the mediæval castle. These walls, constructed of flint concrete with bonding courses of tile or stone, have half-round bastions projecting at intervals in the later Roman style. The site thus occupied is a point of land projecting in a south-easterly direction into the head of Portsmouth Harbour, with its east and south sides protected by the sea, while the other two sides are surrounded by a ditch. Moreover, from 50 to 100 yards in advance of the west side is another and larger ditch which forms the base of

¹ Mr. C. R. Peers has described this castle in detail in the *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, vol. iii. pp. 151-158.

the promontory, and may well be the remains of some pre-Roman stronghold. A mile or two to the north the ridge of Portsdown commands the whole situation.

The area enclosed by the Roman walls is about nine acres. In the south-east corner is the parish church, a Norman building of considerable interest, and in the north-west corner are the Norman keep and the other remains of the mediæval castle. There were projecting bastions at each of the four angles of the Roman enclosure and four on each side, except perhaps on the east side, which, being washed by the sea, may have only had the two still remaining. Of the corner bastions only those at the north-east and south-west are left: that at the north-west was destroyed to make room for the keep, and that at the south-east has been undermined by the sea. The most northerly of the four on the west face was removed when the castle was used as a prison in the French wars at the end of the eighteenth century, and the most easterly on the north face has also gone. There were two gateways, one on the landward side in the middle of the west wall, and one towards the sea, nearly opposite, in the east wall. Both received alterations in the Norman period and again in the fourteenth century, but the lower part of the watergate is still mainly Roman, while the land gatehouse has been wholly rebuilt.

The most conspicuous feature of the castle when seen from a distance is the rectangular Norman keep, rising to a height of about 100 feet above the plain. This, together with the east and south walls of what now became an inner ward including the tower at their juncture, and the inner part of the southern

gatehouse, were the first additions to be made to the Roman position. There is no doubt that all this work is of twelfth-century date, and it has been generally supposed that it is due to Henry I, who in 1133 founded here a Priory of Augustine Canons, not long afterwards removed to Southwick, three miles away inland, of which the church in the south-east corner of the outer ward is all that is left. This date is, however, unwarranted by documentary evidence, for we have no mention of any work in the inner ward earlier than the Pipe Rolls of 1172-1174, and it will therefore be safer to ascribe the conversion of the Roman site into a Norman castle to Henry II than to his grandfather.

The buildings are in a very ruinous state, and very confusing at first sight; a reference to Mr. Peers's excellent coloured plan in the *Victoria County History* will, however, make the arrangement of them intelligible. The keep consisted of a basement and four floors¹ (the present floors were put up for the accommodation of the French prisoners of war at the end of the eighteenth century), and like other Norman keeps is divided into two parts for its whole height by an interior wall running east and west. To its eastern face was attached a forebuilding reaching as high as the floor of its second storey, and on the exterior of this forebuilding was a staircase occupying the place of the present one. Turning to the left at the top of the stairs you found yourself in a passage leading to the entrance to the keep, having on your right an apartment perhaps used as a guard-chamber, and on your left the chapel. Entering the keep you were in the southern of the two first-floor

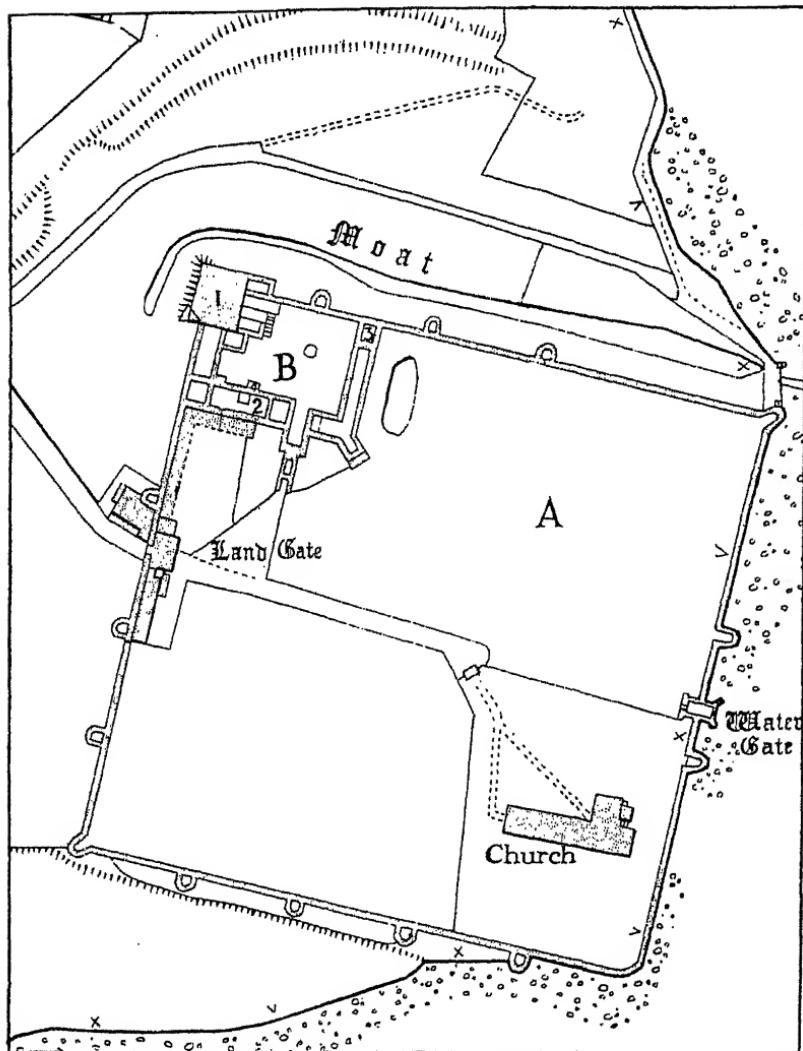
¹ Clark, *M.M.A.* ii. 393, 394.

chambers : in the south-west corner was the vice leading downwards to the basement (then the only entrance to it) and upwards to the battlements, while in the south-east corner was the shaft of the well. At the western extremity of the partition wall was the doorway into the northern chamber.

As originally built, the second floor was the topmost storey of the keep, and the weatherings of its roof may still be seen ; but before the end of the century the tower was raised to its present height, the east and south sides of the added portion containing the four most remarkable windows in the whole structure, each of which consists of a couple of square-headed lights enclosed in a round-headed arch of relief.

The inner ward measures 189 feet east and west by 120 north and south. What Norman buildings it contained besides those already mentioned is unknown, but any that may have occupied the west side could not have extended as far as the keep, the first floor of which had two round-headed windows on the south side, which were blocked when the later buildings were made to abut upon it. The present buildings are, on the west and south-west, those erected by Richard II, and on the east and south-east, those put up early in the seventeenth century by Sir Thomas Cornwallis.¹ The range on the south side as far eastward as the gatehouse has a handsome porch with a bracket for a lantern on either side of the entrance projecting into the ward. This contained a stairway leading up into the hall, which occupied the first floor. At its eastern end were the screens with the music gallery over them, and the usual passage below dividing them from the

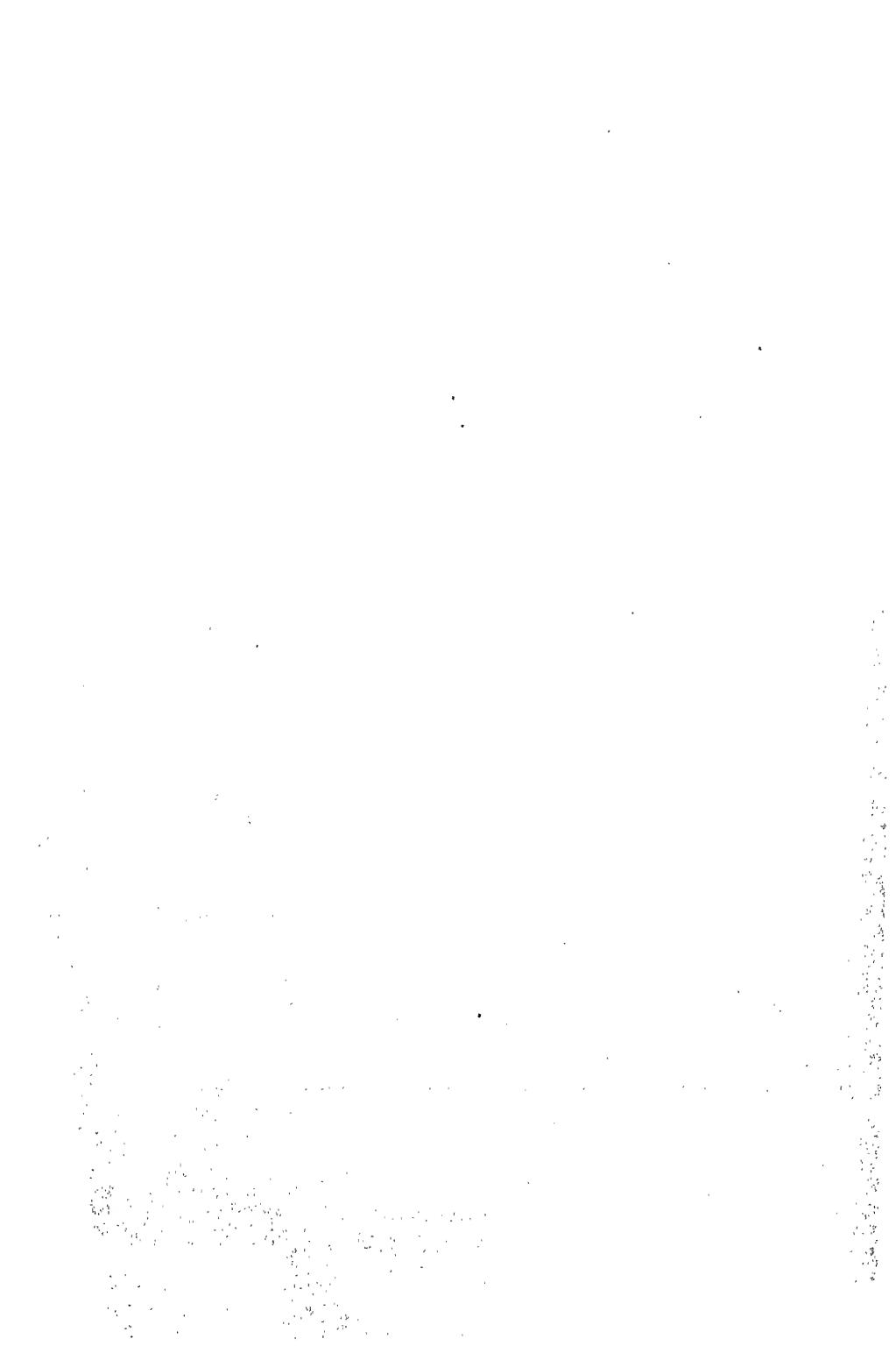
¹ Died 1618. His monument is in Portchester church.



PORTCHESTER

- A. -- OUTER WARD
- B. -- INNER WARD
- 1. -- KEEP
- 2. -- HALL
- 3. -- ASSHETON'S TOWER

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buttery, pantries, and kitchen. At the west end, where there are some traces of an earlier Norman building, a passage in the northern corner led to the rooms on the west side of the ward. The range containing these is perhaps a little earlier than the other, and contained on the first floor the solar with the King's and Queen's chambers, the one at the north and the other at the south end of it. Opening out of the King's chamber on the east was a building which Mr. Peers suggests may have been the Exchequer chamber. The basements throughout were no doubt used as cellars and storerooms.

In the north-east corner is Assheton's Tower, so called from the builder of it, Sir Robert Assheton, who was constable of the castle in 1376. Whatever earlier buildings there may have been against the east curtain to the south of this tower, they have been replaced by a range built by Sir Thomas Cornwallis in the latest Gothic style early in the seventeenth century. They include the Norman tower¹ at the south-east corner, and continue along the south curtain as far as the gatehouse. Probably by this time Richard II's buildings were too ruinous for use.

The entrance to the ward is through a series of buildings, belonging to four periods, the whole length of the passage being about 100 feet. From the ward you pass through the original Norman gatehouse, which was a plain rectangular tower projecting 23 feet in front of the curtain. Against this, on its outer face, in the Decorated period, about 1320, was built a vaulted porch, the outer arch of which contains grooves for a portcullis, and is flanked by buttresses. In the side

¹ Mr. Peers considers that the walls of this tower as well as the east and south curtains of the ward are twelfth-century work.

walls are doorways opening on to the scarp of the ditch, which divides the curtain from the outer ward, and was crossed by a drawbridge. Thirdly, you pass between two parallel walls added in the Perpendicular period at the same time as the hall ; and lastly, through another portcullised gateway between a continuation of these walls made at the commencement of the seventeenth century. The entrance thus strengthened was the only one into the inner ward, except that, at the same time as the Decorated porch was built, a postern was cut in the Roman curtain close to the forebuilding of the keep.

Portchester must have been well able to withstand a siege. The approaches on every side were commanded by the lofty keep, and the garrison could be ready at a moment's notice to meet an attack, whether by land or sea. An attempt on the latter side was particularly difficult : the enemy would first have to enter Spithead and then to force his way through the guard-ships at the mouth of the harbour. Supposing him to have successfully come to anchor inside, the water at the head of the inlet was too shallow to allow of his bringing his ships up to the walls of the castle, while by the time he had got the attacking party on board smaller craft, the Roman walls would be manned, and provided with hoardings from which missiles of all sorts might be discharged. On the landward side the difficulties to be surmounted were equally formidable, but even if the assailants had got possession of the Roman walls and the outer ward, there still remained the inner line of defences to be carried. The Norman curtain was 6 feet thick, and we have seen with what elaborate precautions the only entrance was protected ; moreover, any attempt upon the east

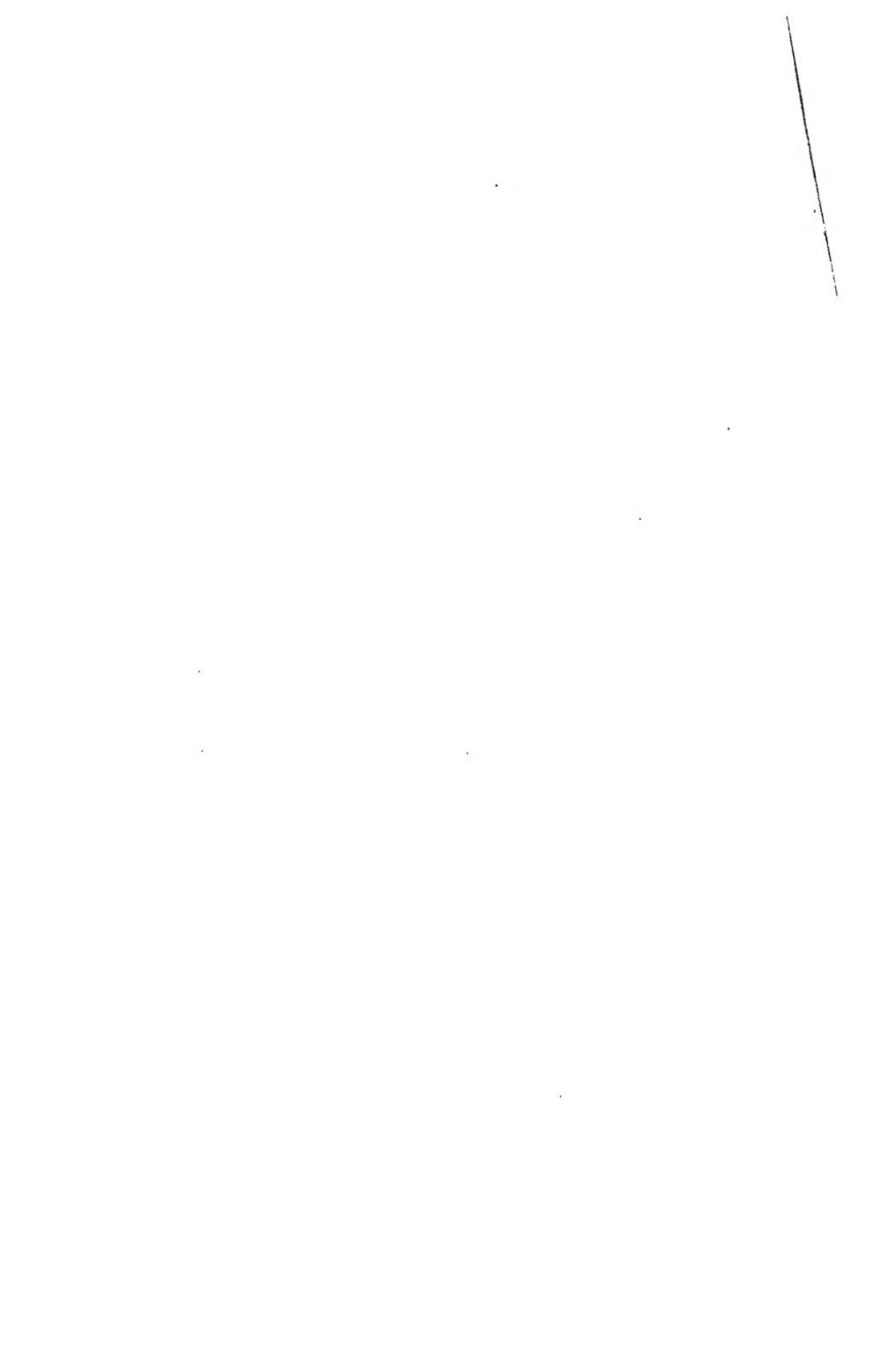
side of the enceinte was enfiladed by the projecting tower at the south-east angle, as the south side was by the tower of the gatehouse. Lastly, even if these defences were carried, there still remained the keep, capable of holding out for an indefinite period.

In point of fact, however, though for a short time in the last year of John it passed by surrender into the hands of Louis of France, the strength of the place was never actually put to the test. Being a royal castle, it was frequently visited by the sovereigns from Henry II to Elizabeth, particularly by John, no less than eighteen of whose visits are recorded, and it was their usual point of departure on their expeditions to the Continent. It was here, for example, that in 1415 Henry V was on the point of embarking for France when the conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge and his fellows was discovered, and from here the culprits were removed to Southampton for execution. Like other royal castles, it was governed by a constable, and a list of the constables from 1205 to 1464 was printed by Mr. C. H. Hartshorne in the *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute* for 1845. From the Crown it passed to the lords of the manor, who sometimes let it on lease to the Government as a State prison. In the Dutch war of the Protectorate, 500 prisoners were confined here, in the Seven Years War 4,000, and finally, during the great French war of 1793-1814, from seven to eight thousand prisoners were here at once. Wooden buildings for their accommodation and that of the garrison were erected, both in the outer and in the inner ward, and, as has been already mentioned, the keep was refloored to form the dormitories. The prisoners, whose prison dress was yellow with grey and yellow caps, amused

themselves by carving their names on the walls, or by making toys and knick-knacks out of any odds and ends they could get hold of, which they sold to the thousands of visitors who came to look at them through palings which were set up to mark the limits of their freedom. At last in 1814, on condition of declaring their allegiance to the Bourbons, they were sent back to their country.



FARNHAM, ENTRANCE TO KEEP



CHAPTER XXIV

FARNHAM¹

THE situation of Farnham, at the point where the roads from London and Dover branch westwards and southwards, must always have made it a place of military importance. The castle stands on the north side of the valley of the Wey, dominating the small town which sprang up under the protection of its walls, and in this respect as well as in its general plan it resembles Arundel, some thirty miles away to the south-east.

The outer line of fortification consists of a curtain wall, the exterior of which is defended by a ditch on the north and east, while on the west and south the ground drops so steeply as to render any artificial earthworks unnecessary. On the south, indeed, the slope has been scarped and the wall takes the form of a revetment with a low parapet. The circumference of this curtain is broken but by few towers or bastions. To the west and north-west are two projecting square towers, one open and the other closed at the gorge; the lower part of another remains at the south-east corner, and the south-west corner has been rounded off into a bastion, the summit of which would serve as a

¹ This castle has also been fully described with coloured plan by Mr. Peers in the *Victoria County History of Surrey*, vol. ii. pp. 599-605.

platform for a gun. Beyond this bastion to the north-west is the gatehouse, a fourteenth-century building consisting of two rounded towers considerably prolonged to the rear.

Within the enclosure thus formed, and nearer to its western than its eastern side, stands the main building. This consists of a mound carrying a shell keep, with a block, roughly triangular in outline, of which the mound itself is the apex, appended to its southern side. The various apartments of which this block is composed are built round a small court or inner ward.

The mound itself, as at Berkeley, is enclosed within the keep, the walls of which therefore are a veritable revetment, but the whole is now so obscured by vegetation that it is only in patches that the masonry can be inspected. In shape the keep, which a hasty glance might imagine to be circular, is really a polygon of twenty-four sides. Four of these sides have a slight projection, which thus forms a broad, shallow buttress; a fifth, at the junction of the east side of the appended block, constitutes the entrance tower, and a sixth is at the junction of its west side. The eighteen remaining sides, the angles of which are covered by small pilasters rising from the battering plinth, are distributed in threes between each pair of projections. It will be readily understood that this angular shape would, like any ordinary curtain furnished with projecting towers, enable the foot of the wall to be commanded from the parapet, while the three faces between the buttresses would be stronger, and better able to resist the outward thrust of the mound, than the arc of a simple circle. On the north and east sides the keep is protected by a ditch of its own.

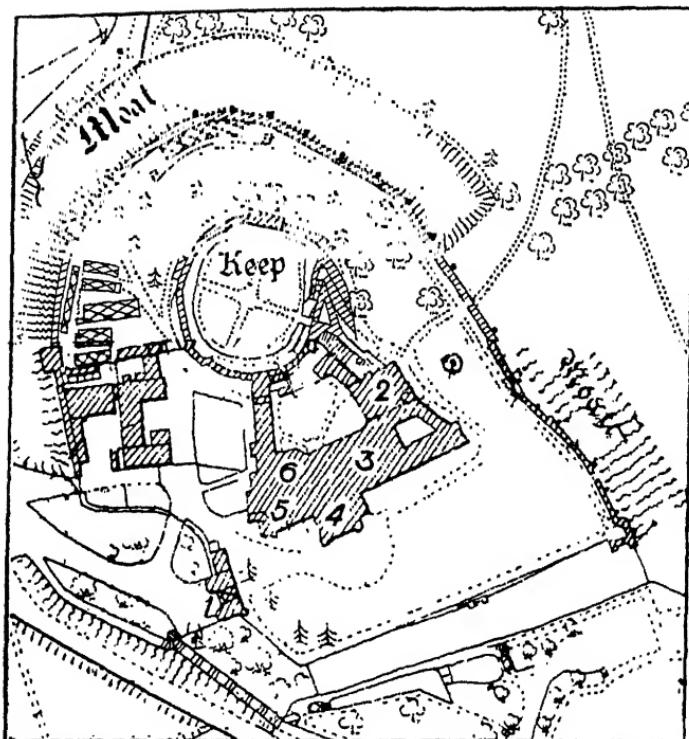
The summit of the mound, the level of which has

been raised, probably by the accumulation of soil and debris, is now laid out as a garden, and the remains of the surrounding wall, which are reduced to a mere parapet, are concealed by vegetation. There is no doubt, however, that this wall was originally much higher, though perhaps never so high as that at Arundel. On the north-east side are the shoots of two garderobes, which suggests that the lodgings or barracks built against the wall had an upper storey. The ancient entrance is through the tower at the south-east, approached by a long flight of steps, defended on either side by a wall; but a little to the north of the tower, the breach made by Waller's orders at the end of 1642 has been utilized for another flight, which descends directly to the outer ward. The foot of the ancient steps is now crossed by a passage connecting the inner and outer wards, but Mr. Peers is of opinion that they formerly terminated in the Great Chamber on the first floor of the eastern wing of the block. The upper part of the tower, which contains a two-light window of Tudor date, and the approaches on the inner side were altered and added to by Bishop Fox, 1500-1528.

Bishop Fox also built the tower which bears his name on the south front of the castle. It is of brick, with semi-octagonal turrets at the two outer corners corbelled out at the level of the first floor. The face is covered with diamond pattern in darker brick, and the top is furnished with machicolations and ornamented with a cornice of trefoiled arches: the general effect, however, is marred by large modern sash-windows. Through this tower, though not in its centre, is the principal entrance to the castle.

Besides Fox's Tower, the most interesting apart-

ments of the inhabited portion are the hall, kitchen, and old chapel. The new chapel, arranged by Bishop Morley, 1662-1684, with its splendid wood carvings, is extremely beautiful, but its description does not fall within the scope of this book. After ascending the stairway in Fox's Tower, and passing through the door, the visitor finds himself in an entrance lobby, with the hall on his right and three doorways (a large one in the centre, with a smaller one on either side) on his left. They are now blocked up, but the centre one, the banded jambshafts of which point to a late twelfth-century date, led by a short passage to the kitchen, the door on the north probably to the pantry, and that on the south to the buttery. It will readily be concluded that these doors once opened out of the west end of the hall, though it is possible there may have been the usual screen in front of them where the present solid west wall stands. In those days the hall was a magnificent room, 66 by 44 feet, and was divided into a nave and north and south aisles by two rows of square wooden pillars. The alterations were made by Bishop Morley. He built the wall now forming the west end of the hall, thus leaving the entrance lobby between it and the original west end, removed the north row of pillars, and built up the south row with a brick wall containing a large fireplace, leaving a passage between it and the outer wall. He ran a gallery round the north and east sides, lighting it on the north by a tier of upper windows, and replacing the old windows below by large round-headed lights beneath projecting brick arches. These changes no doubt made the room warmer and more comfortable, but they involved a considerable reduction in its size.



FARNHAM

- 1.—GATEHOUSE
- 2.—GREAT CHAMBER
- 3.—HALL
- 4.—FOX'S TOWER
- 5.—KITCHEN
- 6.—OLD CHAPEL

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The old chapel, now used as a servants' hall, is to the north of the kitchen, and separated from it by a passage. Its level is 9 feet above that of the hall and kitchen. The nave measures 24 by 16 feet, and is divided from the chancel, of the same width and 8 feet deep, by a pointed arch. At the west end is a large recess, with a niche for a lamp in its southern jamb, and another larger niche above the centre of the arch. In the thirteenth century an aisle of two bays was added to the north side. This has been long ago pulled down and the arches built up, but parts of them can be seen outside from the court.

The so-called dungeons were originally a passage between the inner and outer wards, to the south of the present passage. Above them, as already indicated, was the great chamber, which was reached by a vice, now blocked and disused, in the north-east corner of the hall.

It is said that the outer ward was once divided into two parts by a cross-wall a little way to the south of the keep.

Farnham Castle has been the seat of the Bishops of Winchester from the twelfth century to the present time. Founded by Bishop Henry of Blois (1129-1171), the brother of King Stephen and the grandson of the Conqueror, its chief alterations and additions were made by Bishops Fox and Morley in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The part it has played in English history is inconsiderable. In 1216 it surrendered to the Dauphin, Louis, who had been invited over by the barons to oppose King John, but was retaken in the next year for the new King and its bishop, Silvester of Evesham.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Surrey being held

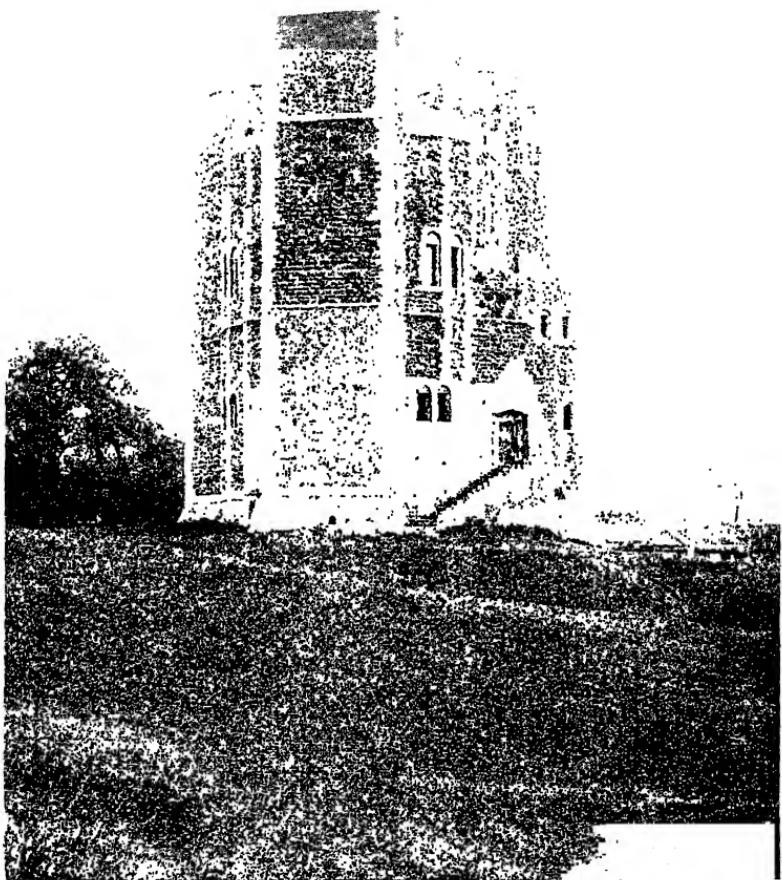
for the Parliament by Sir Richard Onslow, George Wither, the poet and pamphleteer, a native of the adjoining part of Hampshire, was appointed governor of Farnham. His garrison was a weak one, and poorly furnished with guns and ammunition. Accordingly, when the King was advancing upon London, after Edgehill, Wither set off to the capital to ask for supplies. To his disgust he was told that the castle must be abandoned, a decision for which he threw the blame on his superior officer, Onslow, whom he attacked most unjustly in a pamphlet subsequently published. For the present, however, he tried to make the best of a bad business, and riding down to his own house, near Alton, he collected horses and carts, and succeeded in getting his men and arms out of the castle and conveying them through the park to Kingston. He had to leave behind him the sheep and oxen which he had collected to victual the garrison, and these fell into the hands of the Royalist governor, another poet, Sir John Denham. Denham's tenure of office, however, was even shorter than that of his predecessor. After his brief occupation of Brentford, followed by the check he received at Turnham Green, the King fell back upon Oxford, and Waller was at liberty to secure the communications between London and the Channel. On December 1st he appeared before Farnham, with a body of horse and dragoons, and proceeded to blow in the gate—that of the gatehouse, no doubt—with a petard. This was enough for Sir John, who made his surrender, and was allowed to join the King at Oxford. Some time afterwards, when Wither had been taken prisoner by the Royalists, and was in danger of his life, Denham is said to have interceded for him on the ground that,

as long as Wither lived, he could not himself rank as the worst poet in England. It was now that Waller ordered the breach to be made in the keep, as already mentioned. From this time till September 1644 he made the castle his headquarters. At the beginning of 1645 Goring occupied the castle with a body of horse, but soon evacuated it on the approach of General Middleton from Guildford.

When the Royalist rising took place, in the summer of 1648, the castle suffered further damage. It had become known to the Parliamentary Committee that a plan had been formed for surprising the castles of Winchester and Farnham, and when the Earl of Holland appeared in arms at Kingston, at the head of a body of Royalist gentry, orders were sent down that Farnham should be dismantled. Accordingly, much of the timber and lead were carried off and sold by the soldiers to cover their arrears of pay. After the Restoration there was, therefore, ample room for Bishop Morley's repairs.

The printed descriptions of the castle generally mention its distinguished visitors. Henry VIII was here in 1531; Mary in 1554, when she was entertained by Bishop Gardiner on her way to her marriage at Winchester; Elizabeth in 1567, and again in 1569: on the latter occasion it was that she met the fourth Duke of Norfolk here, and, aware of his scheme for marrying the Queen of Scots, warned him to beware on what pillow he laid his head. James I, for the sake of the hunting, took a lease of the castle in 1608 for the life of the then bishop, Thomas Bilson, and had the park palings and lodges repaired; but next year he made it over to John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington. George III visited his old tutor, Bishop

Thomas, here. Among other visitors of note the name of Izaak Walton may be mentioned, who, in Bishop Morley's time, constantly had a room reserved for him at the castle. He seems to have been a very old friend of the bishop's, for, in his dedication of the 1670 edition of the *Lives* to him, he speaks of the "advantage of forty years' friendship," and mentions that the lives of Hooker and Herbert were written under his roof—that is, in all probability, at Farnham.



ORFORD, KEEP

CHAPTER XXV

ORFORD

IN the time of Henry II the east and south-east of Suffolk was well provided with baronial castles, such as Bungay, Framlingham, Haughley, Ipswich, and Walton, and it was therefore easy for their owners, if ever they were at variance with the King, to land detachments of foreign mercenaries upon the coast. The nearest royal fortress was at Eye, a long distance inland, and after the experiences of his predecessor on the throne it is not surprising that Henry should determine to secure a strong post nearer the sea. South of Aldborough for a dozen miles or more the river Ore runs parallel to the North Sea, only separated from it by a long narrow strip of shingle and sand, while on its right bank a tract of sandy and heathy ground extends for some distance inland, and has given to the whole district between the Ore and the Deben the local appellation of the Sandling. It was in this district, about two miles from the sea, that the King decided to set up the castle which was to keep a check upon the barons and to guard the shore from foreign invaders.

Orford Castle was begun in 1166, and in four years' time it was sufficiently advanced to be in a defensible state. The details of its construction are preserved in

the Pipe Rolls. The first steps were to make a road for the cartage of the stone from the beach, and to build a mill for grinding the corn to be consumed by the workmen. Masses of rag-stone, known to geologists as septaria, furnished a durable material, and Caen stone for the quoins and windows could be landed at the quay a quarter of a mile distant. We hear of the employment of two Norman architects or engineers from Ipswich, one of whom, Alnoyth, may be the Alnodus who a little later was commissioned to dismantle Framlingham; of the draining and enclosing the marshes by the riverside for the pasturage of sheep and cattle; of the provisioning of the castle and of the storage of the material necessary both for offence and for defence. After the building of the keep itself had been finished, a wall was constructed on the counterscarp of the ditch surrounding the mound on which it stood, so that in 1173, when the Flemish mercenaries of the rebel barons assaulted the place, they were repulsed without much difficulty. The subsequent defeat of the insurgents at Fornham will be mentioned in the chapter on Framlingham.

Such in brief is the origin of Orford Castle; its floors and roof have gone, its battlements have fallen, and its outer defences have been cleared away, but the main structure remains as it was planned and finished more than seven centuries ago. And here it may be noted that at Orford the term castle never meant, as it generally does elsewhere, much more than the keep. There was no question here of extensive halls, chambers and other "houses" such as were required for the convenience of a great household. The tower was not intended to be anything more than a military outpost for the security of the coast, and the garrison it was

calculated to hold must have been less than a hundred men.¹ It is true that when its military importance began to decline it was sometimes used as a residence by its owners, but it can never have been, like Framlingham, the principal seat of any family of importance.

The outer defences were circular: they consisted of an inner ditch surrounding the mound, the counterscarp of which, as already stated, was crowned by a wall, and outside this again was an outer ditch, parts of which can still be made out. The entrance was on the southwest side protected by towers in the wall and crossing the ditches by bridges. From a sketch² made to illustrate a survey made in 1600 for Sir Michael Stanhope, the then owner, by John Norden, it would appear that there was also a tower on the east side of the enceinte. The summit of this outer wall was originally furnished with *hericia*, revolving bars bristling with spikes like the back of a hedgehog—a device still employed in certain places. One or two fragments of the wall remained *in situ* down to 1842.

The keep has some affinity with that of Conisborough³: both are circular in the interior, but while Conisborough is also circular on the exterior, Orford is an irregular round with twenty-one sides; again, Conisborough has six buttress towers, Orford only three. Each of these towers covers three sides of

¹ In 1173 we hear of a garrison of 73.

² Reproduced in the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, vol. xi.

³ The sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1170-1192, was Bartholomew de Glanville: while he was superintending the completion of Orford Castle, his brother Ranulf was building the castle of Scarborough, and may possibly have had something to do with the erection of that of Conisborough.

the polygon, leaving four between each tower. This difference in the character of the exterior of the two keeps may be explained by the difference in the material. The ashlar blocks at Conisborough were easily worked into a perfect round, while it was found more convenient to work the rougher stone at Orford into facets, filling the angles with dressed Caen stone. The three great square towers are built in the same style as the intervening portions, with angles of dressed stone, and they rise to a considerable height above the battlements: thus, while the height of the main body of the keep is 70 feet, that of the towers is from 90 to 96 feet. There is a stringcourse at the second-floor level, and another round the towers at the level of the battlements. The lower parts of the western tower and of the walls adjoining were refaced about 1835. On the south-west side a small forebuilding is appended—an unusual feature in keep's of this shape,¹ though common enough in the square keep. This contains the entrance, a basement which may have served as a prison, and two floors above it, the upper of which is the chapel.

The entrance is reached by a flight of steps parallel with the wall which have replaced the original ones. From marks remaining on the wall it seems that the landing was once covered by a kind of porch. On entering, the first floor of the forebuilding is on the right, with a two-light window to the south beneath a round arch, and a similar one to the west; but the light next the door has been built up. On the left the main building is entered beneath a Norman arch of three plain orders, three capitals of which remain on

¹ A forebuilding is appended to the shell keep at Berkeley (chap. xii. p. 154).

the east side. There were two doors, each barricaded on the inside by huge beams $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, the recesses for which remain. The projecting keystones on the inner side of the arches were intended to prevent the doors being pushed up by an assailant.

The central portion of the interior consists of a basement and three floors, but the three towers have four floors above the basement, not including the turrets. The vice, which is carried up to the full height of the keep from basement to summit, is on the south-east side; and large blocks of ashlar being scarce, the steps are composed of small stones originally set in a wooden framework. The loops that lighted the basement are blocked. In the centre, as at Conisborough, is the well.

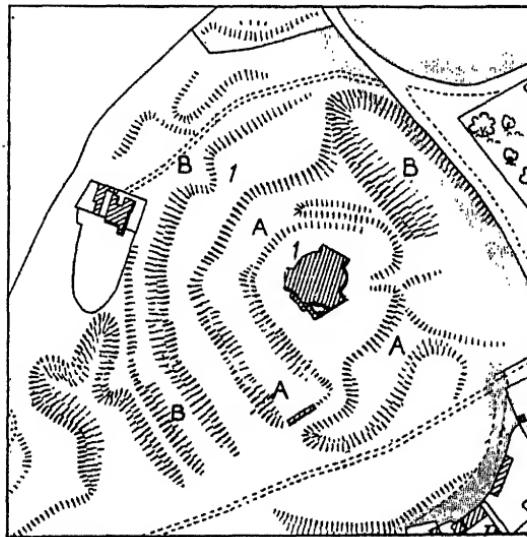
The larger windows throughout the keep are of one pattern—two square-topped lights set under a round head. There are three of these, north, east, and west, on the first floor, which may have been a guard-room. In the north jamb of the west window is a passage leading to the room in the west tower, possibly a scullery, and to two garderobes; in that of the east window another leading to a room in the north-east tower, and in the east jamb of the north window a passage to a small vice which ascends to a room in the north-east tower above. On the north-east side of the main apartment is a fireplace under a pointed arch.

The arrangements of the second floor resemble those of the first: the floor and conical roof are modern (1831), but the thirteen corbels which supported the original flat roof remain. This was the chief apartment or hall. In the north jamb of the west window is a passage leading to a comfortable room furnished with a fireplace. In the north window passages lead on the

west to a sink and garderobes, and on the east to a chamber in the north-east tower. The east window has a small recess in each jamb—perhaps cupboards or wardrobes. The back of the fireplace has been faced with red tiles set on edge in the herringbone pattern.

The third floor seems to have occupied the centre of the battlements as at Conisborough, and at Marten's Tower, Chepstow. It may have had a conical roof.

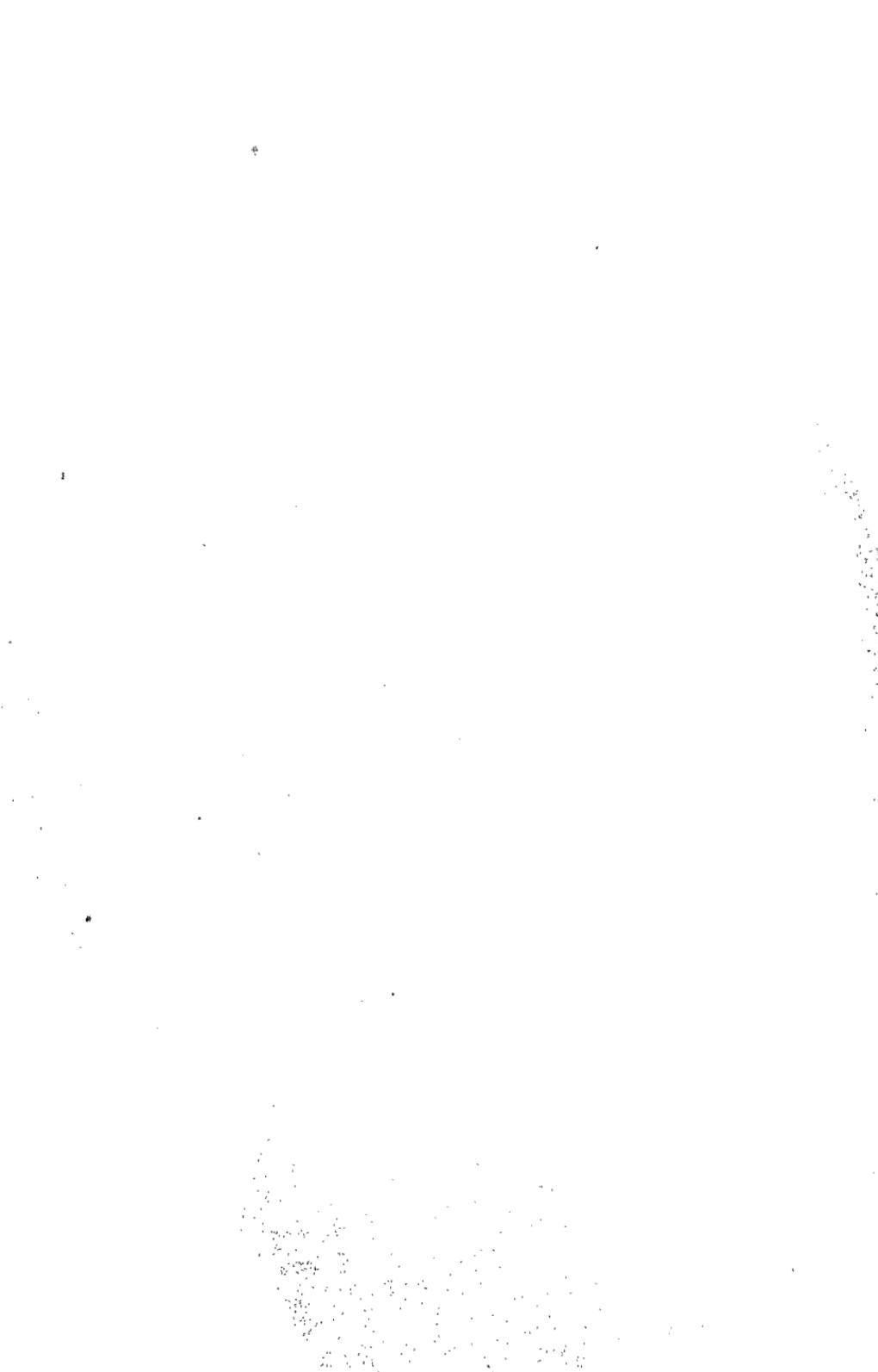
The basement, first and third floors of the towers correspond with the basement, first and second floors of the main building, but there are two intermediate floors (*a* and *b*), one (*a*) below the level of the main second, and the other (*b*) below the level of the main third floor. These may be briefly described: (*a*) A passage curving in the thickness of the wall leads from the main vice to a room in the west tower with a wardrobe attached to its north side, assumed to have been the priest's dormitory. It is lighted by a loop to the south. Before this room is reached, and close to the vice, a door on the left opens into the chapel, which, as already remarked, occupies the upper floor of the forebuilding. Against the east wall are the remains of the altar, with a piscina on the right having a small recess above it, and in the east wall near the south-east angle is another square recess or ambry. A stone bench runs round three sides of the chapel, which is lighted by a double window of the same pattern as the rest to the west, and by a small window to the south. The doorway is round-headed, with side-shafts and cushioned capitals. In the north-east tower is a chamber reached by a passage containing a drain from the small vice mentioned in connexion with the first main floor. (*b*) This floor resembles (*a*). The mural passage leads to a small room in the west tower,



ORFORD

A.—INNER DITCH
B.—OUTER DITCH
I.—KEEP

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sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*



How any room in the north-east tower was reached is not apparent.

The turrets in which the three towers terminate have three faces towards the centre of the keep, thus making them hexagonal. Each had two floors, the upper one probably reached by a ladder. As at Conisborough, one of them (that to the north-east) contains an oven at the battlement level.

Towards the middle of the fourteenth century Orford ceased to be a royal castle, for in 1336 it was bestowed upon Robert, Baron de Ufford, soon afterwards created Earl of Suffolk. In 1754—an evil period in the history of ancient buildings—when it belonged to Viscount Hereford, it was about to be pulled down for the value of the materials, but the Government interfered. It is visible for 25 miles out at sea and is, or was, a valuable landmark. By steering so as to make the castle cover the church tower ships coming from Holland avoided a dangerous sandbank called the Whiting. The castle was therefore saved and was soon afterwards purchased by the Earl (afterwards Marquess) of Hertford, whose grandson fitted up the chief room. It is now part of the Sudbourne Hall estate.¹

¹ The reader may be referred to a paper on this castle, with illustrations and plans, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix. 1842.

CHAPTER XXVI

BARNARD CASTLE

THE broad lands of Alan of Brittany extended northward up to the Tees, and included the formidable tower of Bowes, which, occupying the site of the Roman station of Lavatrae, commands the pass through the hills into Westmorland. On the farther side of the Tees another companion of the Conqueror, the Norman Guy of Bailleul (Baliolum), received a settlement. It was a long strip of country lying between the river and St. Cuthbert's land, the demesnes of the bishopric of Durham. Here, on a cliff rising from the river, some sixteen miles northwest of Richmond, his son, Bernard Balliol, founded the stronghold which was henceforth known as Bernard or Barnard Castle, and which gave its name to the small town which grew up under its protection.

The spot originally fortified by Bernard was probably that which afterwards became the inner ward. It is about 30 feet higher than the rest of the castle, and would have been admirably adapted for a shell keep of the usual Norman type; in fact, the ditch which surrounds it on the town ward side, and which is 70 feet deep, has the earth which came out of it thrown up on its inner side so as to form a veritable mote. The next step would be the enclosure of the



BARNARD CASTLE FROM THE NORTH

rest of the present area, the walls of which in many places indicate an early date ; and it is not improbable that the whole plan had assumed its final shape before the end of the twelfth century. Lastly, in the fourteenth century, when the castle had passed from the family of its founders into other hands, it received those alterations and additions which now form its most prominent features.

The whole area of the castle is oblong in shape, and measures about 293 yards by 133. The long sides are the east and the west ; the west side is defended by the cliff and river, and the other three sides by a ditch, now filled up. This large space is divided into four wards, the outer one to the south being larger than the other three together, and less strongly defended. Entered on the town side, probably where the present entrance is in the yard behind the King's Head, like similar enclosures elsewhere this ward would serve as a feeding-ground for cattle. Nothing is known of any buildings it may have contained, except that in Leland's time (1534) "a fair chapel" stood here, containing two chantries, and two monuments with effigies, conjectured to belong to the Balliols. It is divided from the rest of the castle by a ditch and cross curtain, with the gatehouse and drawbridge of the middle ward at its western extremity ; but the bridge, as well as that opposite to it at the entrance to the inner ward, has been replaced by a causeway.

The other wards—the town, middle, and inner wards—were each capable of separate defence. The town ward, much the largest of the three, is now converted into an orchard and kitchen-garden, and is closed to the public. Near the northern end of its east curtain

is a square tower called the Brackenbury Tower, and another at the north-east angle. In the north front was the gatehouse, of which a large round-headed doorway alone remains, though the marks of its walls may be seen on either side. It is flanked on the west by a projecting round tower, and beyond this on the counterscarp, of the inner ditch, the wall makes a shoulder containing a small square tower, and then, crossing this ditch, abuts on the keep. This inner ditch is a cross-ditch of great depth, drawn along the west side of the town ward in front of the curtains of the inner and middle wards; towards its southern extremity a drawbridge allowed of communication between the town and middle wards.

The middle ward is also now utilized as a garden, and as far as can now be seen it contains nothing of interest. From it at its north-western corner the visitor enters the inner ward, which is roughly circular in shape, and is the best-preserved part of the castle—indeed, the only part much cared for. The keep, which, though often called “Balliol’s Tower,” is a circular tower of the fourteenth century, occupies the north-east corner, and projects outwards on to the cliff. It contains a basement and two upper floors, and the exterior is tolerably perfect; but the interior has been patched up in places, possibly owing to its having been converted by the third Earl of Darlington into a shot tower.¹ The entrance was from a passage

¹ “It would be long before your Grace, fond as you are of shooting, would have thought of converting Balliol’s Tower in the ruins of Barnard Castle into a manufactory of partridge shot, although he [Lord Darlington] makes about £30 a year by destroying one of the most curious vaulted roofs in England.” Scott to the Duke of Buccleuch, January 17th, 1818. *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 10. Fortunately the destruction of the roof was not perpetrated.

under the withdrawing room, out of which also opened the postern on the left communicating with the exterior of the castle. In the left jamb of the doorway is a flat-topped passage in the wall leading to a garderobe, and the basement chamber itself is lighted by three splayed loops; but the centre one to the north has been enlarged into an ugly square opening. The roof is a very curious flattish dome built of rubble. On the right of the entrance a doorway opens upon half a dozen steps which lead to a small barrel-vaulted room twice as long as broad, and partly contained within a buttress applied to the southern face of the keep. This side of the keep is, however, so thickly coated with ivy that its details are entirely obscured.

From this room another staircase rises in the thickness of the wall, and emerges in the jamb of a doorway which communicated with the withdrawing room on the west, while from the opposite jamb a passage leads to a garderobe over the lower one. From this stage the tower is open to the sky. The first floor has a loop to the east towards the town, and a large round-headed window to the north commanding a charming view up the Tees. At the second-floor level there is a blocked-up Tudor window on the south, and another to the east, the recess of which has been rebuilt. This floor was reached by a mural stair which started in the left-hand jamb of the large north window already mentioned, and led in the curve of the wall right up to the now vanished battlements. Both these floors had fireplaces, and the upper one an opening communicating with the battlements above the withdrawing room and hall, and also with a third garderobe corbelled out to the north.

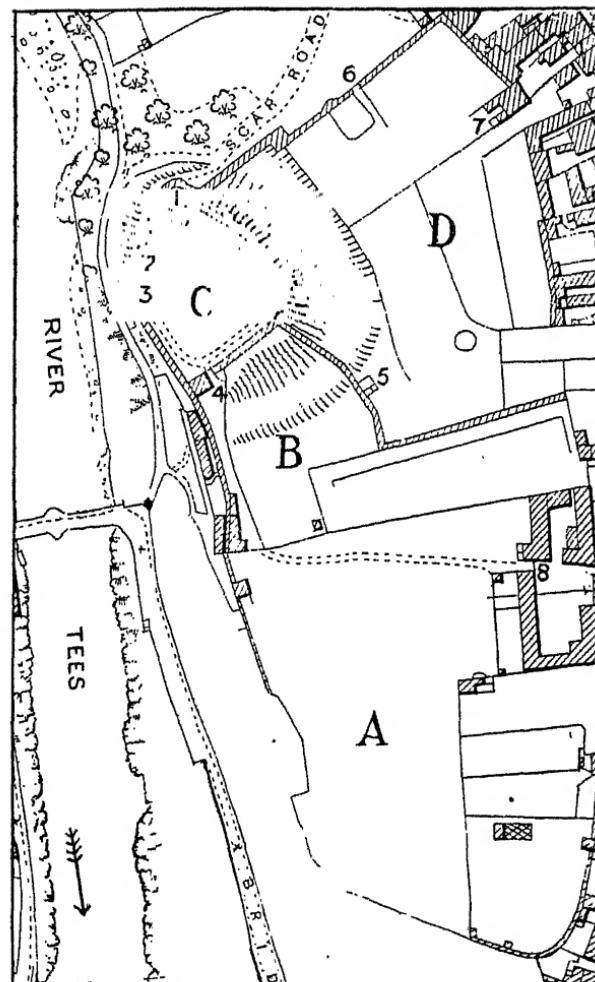
The curtain of the north front to the west of the

keep, originally Norman, was pierced with windows in Decorated times, and strengthened on the exterior with buttresses. The north-west corner had a rectangular tower¹ of which all but the north side is gone: its basement may have contained the kitchen, which would thus have been conveniently situated at the lower end of the hall. The hall adjoined this tower on the east, and between it and the keep was the withdrawing room—both at the first-floor level, with the cellar and the postern passage already mentioned beneath them. The hall has two pointed windows of two lights each with transoms, and with quatrefoils in the head. The withdrawing room, which opened out of the hall behind the dais, has a large, flat-topped bay window looking up the Tees, with the bristly boar of Richard III carved in its soffit. It is corbelled out over the postern, and is divided into five lights by four mullions, three of which have been restored. Above it is another square-topped window of rather later date, resembling two of those in the keep. On the other side of this ward a small tower with a vaulted basement and a ruined upper storey, also vaulted, projects towards the town ward: it has a Decorated buttress applied to each of its three faces.

The bridge across the river, of two spans, with finely moulded arches, is entirely commanded from the ramparts; and it must have been enfiladed by a tall fragment of the middle ward, which is still standing, and was probably a part of its gatehouse.

The castle plays but little part in general history. Bernard Balliol, the founder, and his son, another Bernard, took an active part in the wars against the Scots. The father fought against King David at the

¹ Called Mortham tower.



BARNARD

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—MIDDLE WARD
- C.—INNER WARD
- D.—TOWN WARD
- 1.—ROUND TOWER
- 2.—HALL
- 3.—NORTHERN TOWER
- 4.—INNER GATEHOUSE
- 5.—MIDDLE GATE
- 6.—OUTER GATEHOUSE
- 7.—BRACKENBURY'S TOWER
- 8.—R.N.R.Y.D.

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Battle of the Standard in 1138, which he survived for nearly thirty years, and the son was one of the party which saved Alnwick from William the Lion in 1174 and made him prisoner. In the time of Henry III John Balliol, the great-grandson of Bernard II, quarrelled with his neighbour the Bishop of Durham, and seized some of his lands. The Bishop complained to the King, and Balliol was compelled to do penance at the door of the cathedral, to receive a scourging at the hands of the outraged prelate, and to crown his submission with a substantial act of charity. He therefore hired a house in Oxford for the reception of sixteen poor scholars, who were to live at his charges. After his death this charity was placed on a more solid foundation by his widow Dervorguilla, and has ever since been called by his name. Dervorguilla, besides being the daughter and co-heiress of the lord of Galloway, was great-niece of William the Lion, and from her her son, another John Balliol, inherited his claim to the Scottish throne. On the defeat of John Balliol at Dunbar in 1296, the castle was claimed by the Bishop of Durham as belonging to the see. The Bishop held it for a time, but it was granted by the King to Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who kept it in spite of the episcopal protests.

After the Wars of the Roses it came into the possession of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, whose cognisance remains, as we have seen, in the bay window, and with him to the Crown.

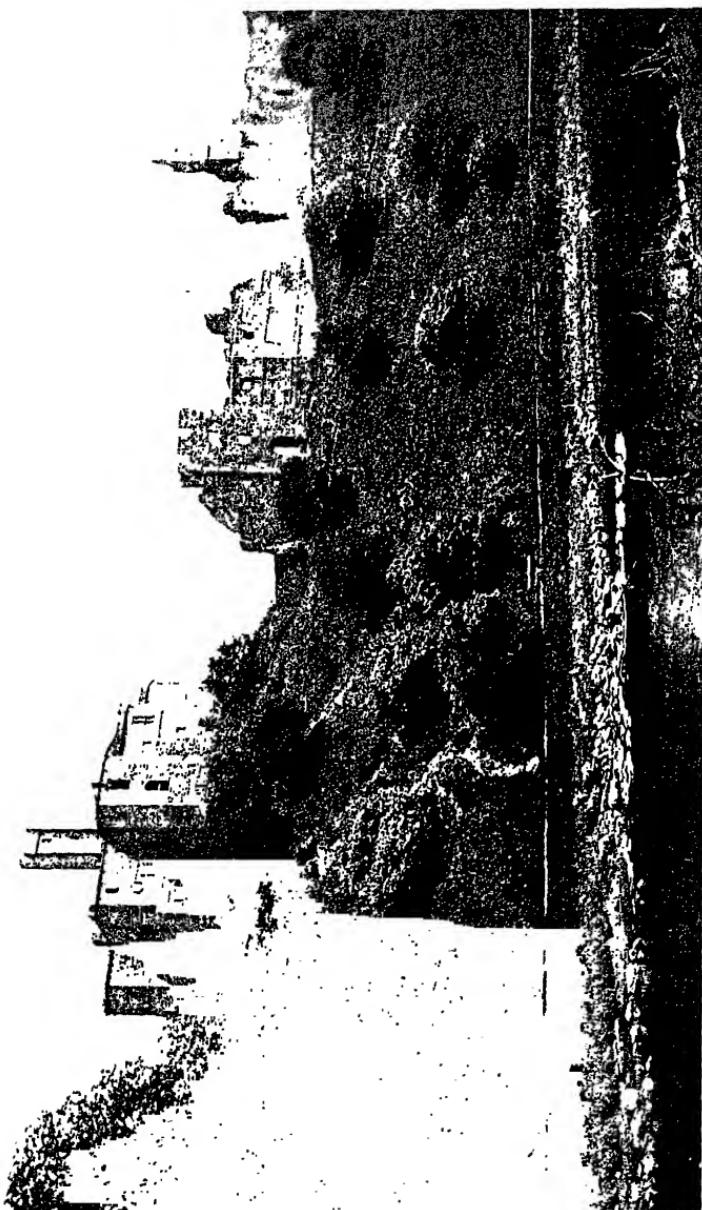
In 1569, when the Catholic insurrection known as the Rising of the North broke out, the castle was held for the Queen by Sir George Bowes of Streatlam, three miles north-eastward. He was but scantily provided with arms and provisions, and quite unable to stand

a siege. The insurgents had hoped to rescue Mary of Scotland from the hands of her gaolers at Tutbury; but she was carried off before they could reach the place, and they turned back towards the north without effecting anything. When Charles Neville, the last Earl of Westmorland of that line, appeared before Barnard Castle on his retreat to Raby, the garrison deserted, and Bowes was compelled to surrender. Westmorland was, however, unable to hold the castle long, and three weeks later he had fled to Scotland.

This was the last time that Barnard Castle was the scene of fighting. A survey taken in 1592 shows that it was still in tolerable repair; but in 1630, after it had passed into the family of its present owner, it was unroofed and dismantled, and the fittings of the hall carried to Raby.

The best view of "Barnard's towers" is from "the woodland Tees" to the north, combining the keep with the drawing-room and hall; and, as lovers of Scott will remember, it was from these battlements that the warder "as hoarse and high the breezes blow,"

Sees the clouds mustering in the north,
Hears, upon turret-roof and wall,
By fits the plashing rain-drop fall,
Lists to the breeze's boding sound,
And wraps his shaggy mantle round.



WARKWORTH FROM THE WEST

CHAPTER XXVII

WARKWORTH

ABOUT two miles from its mouth, the river Coquet makes a bend to the north, and encloses a small peninsula, the neck of which has a steep descent to the water on either side. A position of this kind would not escape the eye of a Norman baron in search of a site for his home, and it is certain that a fortress of some kind or other existed here as early as the middle of the twelfth century, for in 1157 Henry II granted the castle and manor of Warkworth to Roger FitzRichard, the grandson by his second marriage of Eustace FitzJohn, the probable founder of Alnwick. The mound at the northern end of the enclosure, on which the remarkable donjon or keep now stands, no doubt supported an original timber fortress, and its height was further enhanced by a transverse ditch cut from cliff to cliff and curving southwards at its extremities. The bailey was attached to the south side of this mount, and earthworks, which can be traced outside its present southern limit perhaps indicate that it formerly extended farther in this direction.

The curtain wall and the older parts of the present castle apparently belong to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and may be attributed to Robert, the

son of the above Roger, who had the unenviable distinction of being a favourite of King John. In 1311 Robert's descendant, John de Clavering, gave the reversion of Warkworth to Edward II and his heirs in exchange for estates elsewhere, and on the grantor's death in 1332 it came to Henry Percy (the second Percy of Alnwick), to whom the reversion had been made over by Edward III. Thus, twenty-three years after their acquisition of Alnwick, both castles were in the hands of the Percies, and to them (probably to the first and fourth Earls of Northumberland) the keep and the other fifteenth-century additions may be assigned.

The outline of the castle is triangular, with the keep at its apex. The main entrance is opposite to the keep in the south curtain, in which direction the park and the demesne land extended. It is set in a gatehouse between two semi-octagonal towers, reminding us of the outer and inner gatehouses of Alnwick. Over the pointed gateway the wall projects on five corbels of transition Norman character, above which is a stringcourse. There is no window, but near the top are three brackets helping to form machicolations. Two of the angles in each tower are covered with semi-octagonal buttresses which terminate in points about three-quarters of the way up.

Proceeding eastwards from the gatehouse, the Montagu (or Amble) tower at the south-east corner of the castle is reached. This is a square tower projecting from the east curtain, and consists of a basement and three storeys. Beyond this tower, following the curtain northward, and passing a garderobe turret, the visitor arrives at the tower called the Grey Mare's Tail (no doubt a corruption of its proper name).

It is octagonal in shape, and its five external faces are pierced by crossed loops of great length—according to Mr. Bates,¹ probably the finest examples of these openings in Europe. They were intended for the cross-bow, and became very common in the thirteenth century. On the north side, in the angle between the tower and the wall, is another garderobe turret. From this tower the curtain climbs the mound and abuts upon the keep, strengthened by a buttress of peculiar shape, and resembling one against the west curtain opposite.

Starting from the keep on the west side, and passing this western buttress, a postern door is reached through which visitors now enter the castle. The rebate shows that this door opened outwards, as did the gate of the great gatehouse; the tower above the postern shows the windows of two storeys and the remains of battlements. Beyond this postern the curtain forms the exterior of the kitchen, hall, and great chamber; and at the south-west corner is the tower called Crakefergus, or Cradyfergus (a corruption of Carrickfergus). The west side has fallen, so that the spectator standing outside the castle looks right into its interior. It is much the same shape as the “Grey Mare’s Tail,” and on the first floor will be seen an east window of two lights with seats, and the remains of a fireplace. It was probably in this room, which then formed part of the lord’s lodgings, that, as Mr. Bates thinks, “the first two Percies of Warkworth died, and Northumberland, Henry IV, and John of Lancaster indited their Warkworth correspondence.” From this tower it is but a short distance to the gatehouse, and the circuit of the exterior is complete.

¹ *Border Holds.* See note, p. 46.

The visitor may now return to the postern and pass into the bailey, when he is at once struck by the contrast between the keep on his left, and the remainder of the buildings: the first appears to be almost intact, while everything else is a mass of confused ruin. We may begin our examination with the latter, of which the remains of two towers on the right are the most conspicuous features. The nearer one takes its name from the Lion of Louvain, which is carved upon its face in bold relief; the other, "the Little Stair tower," terminates in a turret crowned by a short spire. Both towers are additions to the range of domestic buildings which occupied this side of the bailey, and both may be attributed to the fourth earl, between 1471 and 1489. They are thus later than the keep, which is probably the work of the first earl, who died in 1408.

The Lion tower was designed to form a more imposing entrance to the thirteenth-century hall. The armorial ensigns are enclosed in a frame or panel over the gateway between two pinnacled shafts resting on angles. At the top is a battlemented cornice, and at the bottom a pair of brackets with fan tracery in the recess between them. Above the head of the lion to the left are the old arms of Percy (five fusils conjoined in fesse or), the use of which had been discarded in favour of the Lion of Louvain since the middle of the fourteenth century, and which were revived by the fourth earl; and to the right the arms of Lucy of Egremont, the second wife of the first earl. Above the Percy shield is a helmet surmounted by a cap of State, bearing what looks like a ram as crest, but that over the Lucy shield has vanished. On the cornice above are three badges: the one to the right is a *bascule* or counterpoise for raising a drawbridge, the

badge of the Herbert family, the wife of the builder of the tower having been a daughter of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke. The tower has two storeys over the gateway, divided externally by a string-course, while the angles are covered by buttresses characteristic of the period.

Passing through the porch, we are in the north-east corner of the hall, which must have been a fine building, nearly 60 feet in length, with an aisle on its east side separated by an arcade of three bays. The room was warmed by an open brazier, the foundations of which remain near the dais (southern) end, and the smoke escaped through a louvre in the roof. At the lower end were three doorways, the central one communicating with kitchen and the others with the pantry and buttery, which covered most of the space between the hall and the postern tower. If the usual arrangement was followed these doors would have been divided from the hall by a screen and cross-passage, above which was a gallery. Behind the dais, at the south-west corner, was a mural stair leading up into the great chamber, which, with its basement beneath, filled the space between the hall and the Crakefergus tower.

Not content with this, however, the fourth earl appears to have designed a more magnificent entrance to the great chamber, by building another tower at the south-east corner of the hall, balancing the Lion tower at the north-east corner. This, the Little Stair tower, had a vaulted ante-room on its first floor with a lofty doorway opening into the great chamber, but almost the whole of this tower has gone, leaving only the corner supporting the spired turret, which contains the vice which led to the

battlements. The stair-head under the spire is covered by a vault, the ribs of which spring from a single shaft. The south end of the great chamber communicated with the first floor of the Crakefergus tower, while the second floor was reached by a mural stair in the thickness of the south curtain, entered from a door in the south-east corner of the great chamber.

Between the great chamber and the gatehouse was the chapel, most of which has gone, but the piscina may still be seen in the south wall at the east end. The arrangement of this chapel seems to have been the same as that of the later chapel in the keep, that is to say, that while the chancel or east end rose the whole height of the building, the western portion was divided by a floor into two portions, each provided with fireplaces. Mr. Bates thought that the lower portion might have been used for secular purposes, and have been one of the "houses of office" mentioned in the survey of 1567, but may it not have been used for worship by the domestics of the establishment, like the basement of the circular nave at Ludlow? The upper room, which was known as the "oriel," was that used by the members of the family, or sometimes only by the ladies. In this case the upper floor seems to have had a communication with the Crakefergus tower, and the lower with the great chamber and the aisle of the hall.

The inner face of the great gatehouse has been altered to form the custodian's quarters, but the entrance passage was originally flanked by the two doorways of the porter's lodge and the prison, while right and left of these again were two other doorways approached by steps, and leading by short winding stairs to the first floor of the gatehouse.

Lying east and west across the bailey between the postern tower and the "Grey Mare's Tail" are the foundations of what, as we gather from the survey of 1567, was intended to be a collegiate chapel—"ment to have been a colledge"—but was never finished. Mr. Bates reasonably conjectures that the work was cut short by the murder of the fourth earl in 1489, and from the fact that the north door in the Lion tower was designed to communicate with it by a corridor, that the chapel formed part of a plan of this earl "for constructing a mansion more suited to the domestic requirements of his age than were the complicated and limited arrangements of the Donjon." The choir was to have been some 12 feet longer than the nave, and the transepts merely projecting bays. The bases of the four piers of the central tower remain, and two of the north arcade of the nave. There are vaults under the north transept and the west end of the choir, probably designed as burial places.

We now come to the great keep, the most distinctive feature of the castle, and, as Mr. Bates calls it, the most elaborately planned tower house in existence. It is a great square, the angles of which above the projecting plinth are chamfered off, while each of the four faces has a semi-octagonal projection, so that the whole assumes the shape of a cross with the four angles filled in. The interior contains a basement and two floors, while a small watch tower rises 32 feet above the roof.

The basement is entered by a door in the west side of the south projection, immediately inside which is a wooden platform covering a pit 16 feet deep, into which any assailants who had forced the door

could be precipitated by withdrawing the bolts. Nearly opposite is a door opening on to the battlements of the east curtain of the bailey, and on the right the porter's lodge, occupying the south projection. In the middle of the tower is a curious open shaft running right up to the roof: the 1567 survey calls it the Lantern, and it served not only to receive the water from the leads, but also to give light to some of the upper rooms. To the south of the Lantern is the main staircase, but there are three other stairs in the thickness of the wall—one in the west projection leading up to the buttery above, one in the north-west chamber leading to the kitchen, and one in the east projection leading to the dais end of the hall. All the rooms of the basement are vaulted: the east projection was a wine cellar, and it had a door opening into the north-east chamber, which might serve as an inner cellar for the choicer vintages. The north projection contains stone tanks for holding the water collected in the Lantern. The south-west angle is occupied by a prison containing a dungeon 9 feet 4 inches deep, resembling the one in the inner gatehouse at Alnwick. On the west side of this prison a flight of steps leads to a small inner prison contrived in the thickness of the wall, containing a fireplace and a garderobe, and perhaps intended for prisoners of rank. Lastly it should be said that in the west wall of the north-west chamber is a postern opening on to the mound outside the enceinte of the bailey.

The first floor contains the hall, chapel, great chamber, parlour, kitchens, buttery, and pantry, and of these the hall, chancel of the chapel, and the great kitchen rise to the roof of the keep. The hall

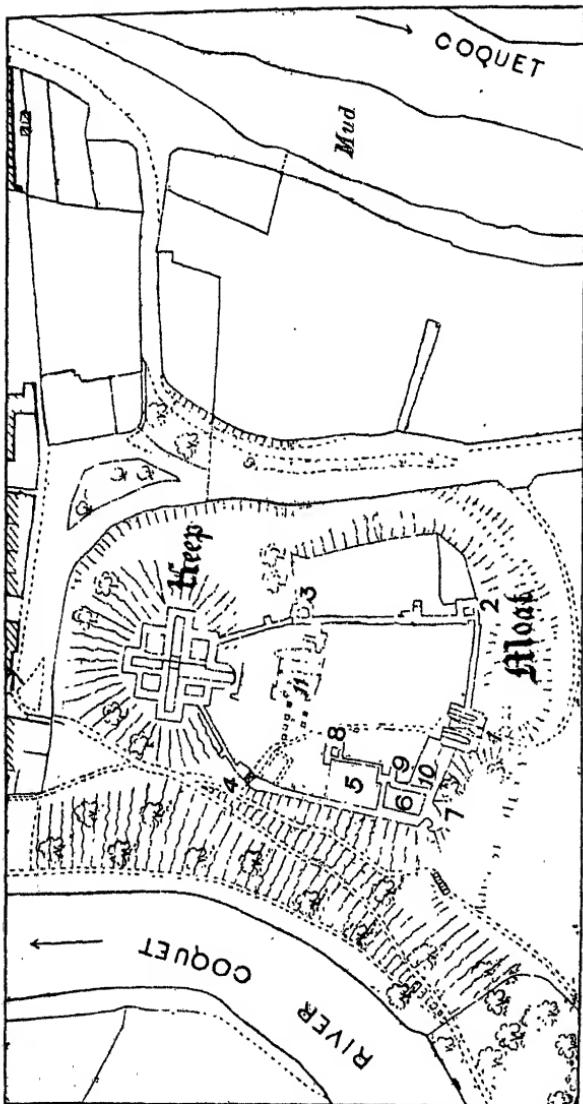
occupies the south-east angle: it is a noble room, 41 feet long and from 25 to 23 feet wide, being rather broader at the lower end than the upper. Like the older hall in the bailey, it seems to have been originally warmed by a brazier on the floor, but in Tudor times the western of the two great south windows was made into a fireplace. At the south end of the dais the mural stair comes up from the cellars, and in the east wall, high up, are two windows with a gallery in front of them opening from the oriel of the chapel. The music gallery would have been, as usual, at the lower or west end, and here too are the customary doorways, the northernmost of which communicates with the kitchens and the other two with the pantry and buttery. In the north-west corner is a passage leading behind the chapel to the great chamber.

The chapel is to the north of the hall, and its lower storey is entered from it by a door near the dais. The chancel is in the eastern projection, and as has been already mentioned ascends to the roof of the building. It is lighted by three long windows to the east, each divided into six lights, and by two others in the north and south walls. To the north of the altar is an ambry, and to the south a piscina and sedile. West of the latter is the entrance to a long, narrow priest's chamber, contrived in the thickness of the wall behind the hall dais, and under the gallery above mentioned. The oriel or upper storey of the chapel is at the second-floor level, and is reached by a vice from the south-west corner of the nave, and also by a door opening from the withdrawing-room north of it.

The great chamber to the north of the chapel

was about 36 feet long, 16 wide, and 16 high: it was, says Mr. Bates, "a sort of secondary hall, where visitors might be received more privately than in the great hall," and with greater comfort; "it also served as the general living and sleeping room of the gentlemen of the family" just as the withdrawing-room over it was appropriated to the ladies. From the recess of its eastern window, a mural passage leads into the chancel of the chapel, and in the north-west corner a doorway with a mural wardrobe on the right communicates with the parlour, which occupies the northern projection, and was probably the private apartment of the earl. It has a window to the west, a fireplace, and in its east wall a wardrobe. The whole of the western division of this floor is taken up with the kitchens and offices.

The second floor, besides the upper portions of the hall, great kitchen, lantern, and chapel chancel, contains the withdrawing-room and several other apartments. The privy chamber is in the northern projection over the parlour, and is reached from it by a vice in the south-west corner: it has east and west windows and a fireplace. Both it and the withdrawing-room have wardrobes over those below. The other arrangements of the withdrawing-room are similar to those of the great chamber, except that it has two windows to the north instead of one. On the west side of the lantern, and lighted from it, is a small vaulted chamber at the base of the central watch tower, and west of this again a long room over the outer kitchen with a double water drain in its north-east corner. The rooms in the south-west angle and south projection have been repaired



WARKWORTH

- 1.—GATEHOUSE
- 2.—MONTAGU TOWER
- 3.—GREY MARE'S TAIL
- 4.—POSTERN
- 5.—HALL
- 6.—GREAT CHAMBER
- 7.—CRACKEFERGUS TOWER
- 8.—LION TOWER
- 9.—LITTLE STAIR TOWER
- 10.—CHAPEL
- 11.—COLLEGE

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and fitted up for the use of the duke when he visits Warkworth.

From the time of its rebuilding by Robert Fitz-Roger, early in the thirteenth century, down to the execution of the seventh Earl of Northumberland in 1572, the castle seems to have been a frequent and indeed the favourite residence of its owners, with the exception of the fifth earl, who resided chiefly at his Yorkshire houses of Wressil and Leckonfield, and whose *Household Book* is a well-known storehouse of information on the domestic life of the early sixteenth century.

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries Warkworth, like the rest of Northumberland, was in the thick of the Border warfare, and besides this in the fifteenth it had its part in the Percy rebellions and the wars of York and Lancaster. It was within its walls that the conspiracy was hatched which ended in the death of Hotspur on Shrewsbury field in 1403. His father was coming to his assistance when the news of the disaster reached him and drove him back to Warkworth. He was then induced to go to York to meet the King, but he was arrested and underwent six months' imprisonment, during which Warkworth was defended for him by his grandsons. In February 1404 he was tried for treason by his peers and acquitted, but he could not bring himself to submit to the House of Lancaster. In a year's time he joined another conspiracy fomented by Archbishop Scrope of York, and again he had not brought up his contingent when the insurgents were routed by the stratagem of the Earl of Westmorland described in the *Second Part of Henry IV*. Northumberland now fled to Scotland, and the King,

with a formidable siege train, advanced against Warkworth in person. One John of Middleham was holding it for the earl, but when one of the big cannon—then a novel engine of war in these parts—was brought to play upon the walls he lost heart, and, suing for mercy, was allowed to depart on honourable terms. When the Wars of the Roses broke out Warkworth was of course a Lancastrian stronghold, but after the death of the third earl at Towton it passed into the hands of the Yorkists.

Warkworth experienced three periods of alienation from the Percies: firstly, 1405–1414, when, from the attainder of the first earl to its restoration by King Henry V to the second earl, it was in the hands of the Crown. During this period it was often the residence of Prince John, afterwards Duke of Bedford, the third son of Henry IV, who had been appointed Warden of the East March. Secondly, 1462–1470, when on the attainder of the third earl it was granted by Edward IV to his brother George, Duke of Clarence. During this period it was the headquarters of the Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, while he was directing the sieges of Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick, but when Clarence joined Warwick in taking sides against the King, it was restored to the fourth earl. Lastly, 1537–1557; the sixth earl, shortly before his death in 1537, made over his estates to the Crown in the hope of their being some day restored to the descendants of his brother Thomas Percy, who had recently been executed for the share he took in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and restored they were in 1557 by Queen Mary to Thomas Percy's son, the seventh earl, fortunately with a remainder to his brother Henry.

Accordingly when he died in 1572 without male issue, having been attainted and executed for taking part in the Rising of the North, Henry succeeded as eighth earl.

We learn from the survey already mentioned, made in 1567 for the seventh earl by one George Clarkson, that parts of the castle were already much out of repair, and two years later, after the Rising, when Sir John Forster, the Warden of the Middle Marches, got possession of Warkworth and Alnwick, he did considerable damage to both castles, plundering them for his own purposes without any proper authority.

In 1617 James I, on one of his journeys to Scotland, passed by the castle, "and did verie much gaze upon it, onely said when he came to the tower where the lyone is pictured one the wall, 'This lyone houlds upe this castle.'" The members of his suit entered the castle, and found it much neglected—"goats and sheep in every chamber."¹

In the Civil War the Earl of Northumberland sided with the Parliament, but in spite of this Warkworth appears to have been garrisoned for the King, and when the Scots crossed the Border at the beginning of 1644, it surrendered at the first shot. The story goes that the Scottish officer told the governor that if he had fought as well as he danced the castle would not have been taken. A year later orders were issued to deliver it up to the earl, but the Scots still stuck to the demesnes, and were not finally got rid of till September 1646. The castle was again garrisoned against the Scots when they invaded England in 1648, and when the soldiers were

¹ Duke of Northumberland's MSS., quoted by Bates.

withdrawn they had orders only to slight such works as they had themselves thrown up, and to take away the doors, which were to be put in safe keeping, lest the castle should be suddenly seized; but the men exceeded their orders and wrought much havoc.

Finally the absolute ruin of Warkworth dates from 1672, when Elizabeth, the widow of the eleventh earl, granted the materials to one of the auditors of the estates, John Clark by name, to build a house for himself at Cherton near North Shields.



FRAMLINGHAM FROM THE WEST

CHAPTER XXVIII

FRAMLINGHAM

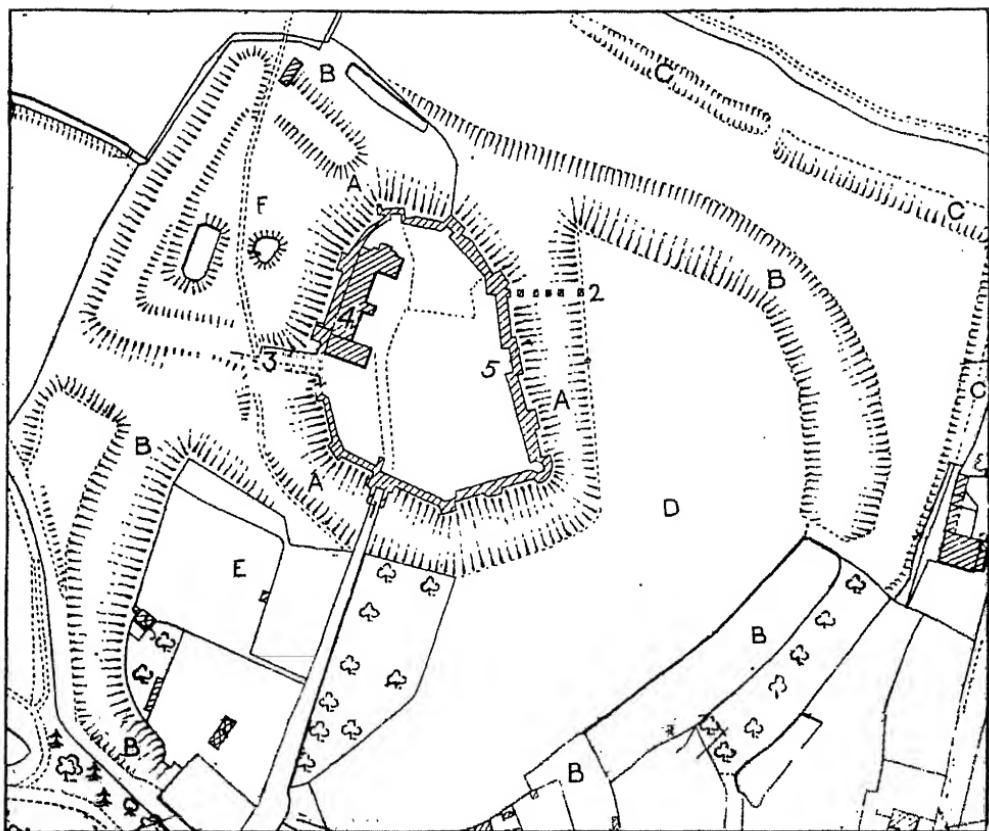
THE castle of Framlingham—now reduced to little more than a shell relieved by a number of square towers—is unlike any other dealt with in this volume, though a distant view may perhaps call up recollections of Ludlow. It is, however, of much historical interest owing to the great families with which it is associated. It is situated on a mound, skirted on its west side by the little river Ore, the bed of which here widens out into a flat expanse of marshy meadow, once under water and known as the Mere. Whether the site was fortified before the Norman castle which existed here for the first three-quarters of the twelfth century, it is impossible to say, but some people may be inclined to believe that part, at any rate, of the great earthworks by which the whole position is defended are of pre-Norman date.

There are three main ditches—an inner ditch enclosing the mound, an outer ditch at some distance from the inner one on the east, south, and west sides, but coalescing with it on the north, and a third on the north-east, called the town ditch, a little further out. On the east side of the castle the space between the inner and outer ditch is known as the Pound field: it is triangular in shape, with its apex on the north,

where the two arms of the inner ditch enter the outer one. The north and south arms of the outer ditch, parts of which, as well as the southern end of the town ditch, still contain water, open out on to the Mere to the west.

Between the two ditches, on the south-west, are a bowling-green and a brewery; on the west what was formerly a pleasure-ground, with two fishponds, but this side is now a tangled wilderness, amid which may be detected the foundations of vanished buildings and masses of fallen masonry. The main entrance to the castle is from the south, and here the two ditches were each crossed by a drawbridge, long ago destroyed.

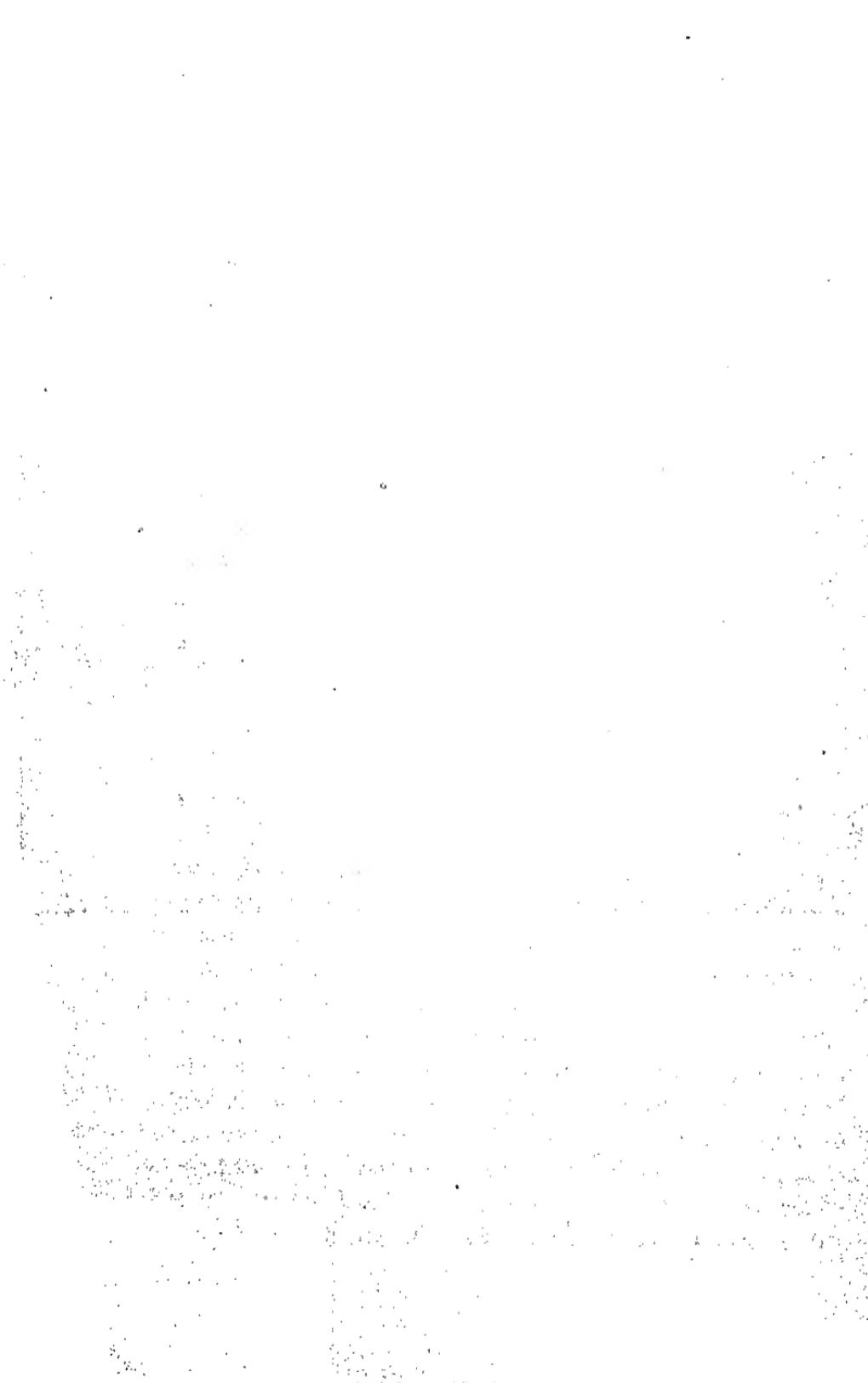
A walk round the exterior of the castle will show that the walls and towers are built of rubble, consisting of brick, flint, and stone, originally covered with plaster, and have ashlar quoins. The curtain is about 44 feet high, and the thirteen towers, which rise some 20 feet above the battlements, have a considerable projection. Of later date than the rest, and belonging to the time of Henry VII, are the gatehouse and the ornamental brick chimneys, with which many of the towers are crowned. The gateway is set between two projecting flanking walls, each containing a recess; its arch is Tudor, richly moulded, and above it, as well as in the spandrels, are the arms of the Howards. On its inner side is a portcullis-groove, now blocked up. The tower at the south-eastern angle of the castle is polygonal, and thus covers the sharpest corner of the whole enceinte. On the north-east, near the apex of the Pound field, are six brick pillars, rising from the bottom of the inner ditch; they supported a bridge leading from a postern to a deer park, enclosed by the Bigods, and three miles in circum-



FRAMLINGHAM

- A.—INNER DITCH
- B.—OUTER DITCH
- C.—TOWN DITCH
- D.—POUND FIELD
- E.—BOWLING GREEN
- F.—PLEASANCE
- I.—GATEHOUSE
- 2.—BRIDGE
- 3.—SALLY-PORT
- 4.—HALL
- 5.—CHAPEL

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ference, which lay to the north. On the west side, just beyond the second tower from the gatehouse, are the remains of a curious projection, now called the sally-port. In Buck's view of 1738 it appears as a small square tower about two-thirds the height of the curtain, with buttresses at the angles and battlemented at the top. In its west face are two round-headed windows, as if lighting an upper chamber, and on its north side is a doorway. It seems to have been reached from inside the castle by a vice in the curtain, giving access to its battlements, whence the whole of the west side of the castle could be commanded.

Of the exterior it may be said that, though encumbered and obscured by a tangled growth of timber and brushwood, it still retains its dignity, and is a monument of which the county may well be proud. The interior, on the other hand, its buildings swept away and its walls defaced by heavy masses of ivy, is a depressing sight. Some record of its former appearance has, however, been preserved by diligent local antiquaries. The hall was on the west side, the chapel on the east, and between the two a long building, with a colonnade beneath it, divided the bailey, about an acre and a quarter in extent, into two portions, the northernmost of which is said to have contained the stables and offices. The eighteenth-century building on the site of the hall, which is now inhabited by the custodian, was used at one time as a poor-house, and at another as a kind of assembly-room for the townsfolk. The present wreck dates from the year 1656 or thereabouts, when the destruction enjoined by the will of the late proprietor, Sir Robert Hitcham, was begun.

Sir Robert Hitcham, a Suffolk man and a dis-

tinguished serjeant-at-law, purchased the Framlingham estate in 1635 from the second Earl of Suffolk, who was the last of the Howards to own it. Sir Robert died the very next year, leaving the estate to Pembroke College (then Pembroke Hall), Cambridge, at which foundation he had been educated. His will directed that the whole of the castle "saving the stone building," *i.e.* the shell still standing, should be pulled down, and the materials employed for building at Framlingham "one house, to set the poor on work." As soon as the testator's affairs were settled, which was not for twenty years after his death, Pembroke College, who are still the owners, proceeded to carry out the provisions of the will. The castle was gutted and the workhouse built; but it appears that some of the materials were sold to the inhabitants of Southwold, a large part of which town had been accidentally burnt down.

The Norman castle was pulled down by the orders of Henry II in 1175, and no traces of it are now known to exist, though it is possible that its foundations might be revealed by excavation. The present castle, which took its place, was probably begun before the end of the century; but, at any rate, it was sufficiently advanced by 1213 to afford hospitality to King John, that most peripatetic of monarchs, and two years later, in the absence of its lord, who had espoused the cause of the barons, it was besieged by the same King, and soon capitulated.

The date of the erection of the castle destroyed in 1175 is as unknown as its plan. If not one of those built for the Conqueror soon after 1066, it was probably founded by Roger Bigod, to whom Framlingham was given by Henry I in or about 1101. Roger had

joined in the insurrection of 1088 against Rufus, but had been a loyal supporter of Henry, and now added Framlingham to his already extensive possessions in Suffolk. He died in 1107, and his son, Hugh Bigod, was created Earl of Norfolk by Stephen and afterwards confirmed in his earldom by Henry II. Nevertheless, as in the reign of the former King he had been sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, so in 1173 he joined the sons of the latter against their father. The insurgents were defeated by Richard de Lucy, the Justiciar, the Earl of Arundel, and other loyal nobles at Fornham St. Geneviève, near St. Edmundsbury, and the order for the destruction of the Bigod castles followed.¹ Hugh Bigod did not long survive his disgrace, and his son Roger, the second Earl of Norfolk, who helped to wrest the Great Charter from John, was the rebuilder of the castle. His grandson, the fourth, and his great-grandson, the fifth earl, were also on the popular side, the former having been one of the barons responsible for the Provisions of Oxford in 1258, and the latter one of those who secured the confirmation of the Charters in 1297. But to us the third earl, another Hugh, is of special interest, for it was he who, by his marriage with Maud Marshal, the heiress of Striguil, brought the castles of Chepstow and Framlingham into the same family, and except for one or two short intervals the two castles were held together down to 1469, when John Mowbray, fourth Duke of Norfolk of that line, gave up Chepstow in exchange for estates nearer to Framlingham.

¹ The expenses incurred in pulling down the castles of Framlingham and Bungay, under the direction of Alnodus, the engineer, are entered in the accounts of the sheriff of Norfolk (Pipe Roll, 21 Henry II).

Hugh Bigod, the fifth and last earl of the family, died in 1306, and six years later Framlingham was granted by Edward II to his half-brother, Thomas de Brotherton, whose descendants held it till it was sold to Sir Robert Hitcham in 1635. The marriage of Thomas de Brotherton's grand-daughter, Elizabeth, brought it to the Mowbrays, and that of her granddaughter, Margaret, to the Howards, who were the owners for nearly two centuries (1483-1635).

Framlingham appears to have been one of the principal residences of its lords down to the time of Thomas Howard, the third duke of that family, who built himself a palace at Kenninghall, on the Norfolk side of the Waveney, and used Framlingham merely as a hunting seat. This was the duke who was arrested and imprisoned by Henry VIII, and who narrowly escaped death owing to the fact that the King died a few hours before the time fixed for his execution. His confiscated estates and honours were restored to him by Queen Mary in 1553; but, in the meantime, Framlingham had played a prominent part in the events which immediately followed the death of Edward VI. The young King died on July 6th, 1553, and Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, in pursuance of his design to put his son's wife on the throne, had already laid his plans for seizing the person of the Lady Mary. Mary, however, who was at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, got early intelligence of her brother's death, and by the time that the duke's emissaries arrived, was far on her way to her friends in Norfolk. She rested first at Kenninghall, whence she wrote to the Council in London, charging them to have her proclaimed, and then went on to Framlingham—at that time, by her brother's grant, her own castle—

where she remained from July 12th to the 31st, protected by an army of 13,000 men. But the fortunes of the conspirators were rapidly declining. On the 14th Northumberland left London to put himself at the head of his army; the men mutinied, and in less than a week he was a prisoner. His fleet, too, at Yarmouth and Harwich, had declared for Mary, who had some of the guns and ammunition from the ships forwarded to her. On the 19th she was proclaimed in London, and the leading nobles began to flock to Framlingham to tender their submission. On the 31st she felt her cause sufficiently assured for her to leave the castle, and August 3rd she entered London in triumph.

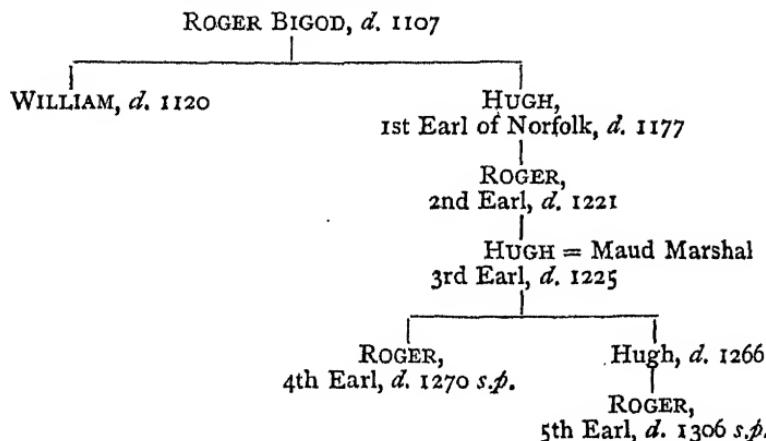
After this the castle does not seem to have been much inhabited, though it was sometimes used as a place of confinement for recusants.¹ The last Duke of Norfolk to own it was Thomas, the fourth Howard to hold this title; and when he was executed in 1572 for his participation in the Ridolfi plot, the castle once more passed to the Crown. At last, in 1603, James I granted it, together with other Howard property in Suffolk, to the younger son and younger brother of the late duke, the latter of whom soon after made over his share to his nephew, who thus became sole owner. This was Thomas Howard, created Earl of Suffolk, who died in 1626; and it was his son and successor, the second earl, who sold the castle to Sir Robert Hitcham.

¹ In 1602 Thomas Bluet, a Romanist recusant, writes that thirty-six prisoners were transferred from Wisbech castle to Framlingham; but that they found the castle there, which had not been inhabited for eighty [sic] years, so ruinous that the keeper was obliged for two months to place them out in the villages roundabout. *Calendar of State Papers, 1602*, p. 167, quoted by Francis Seymour Stevenson in his paper on Framlingham Castle, *Memorials of Old Suffolk*, 1908.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVIII

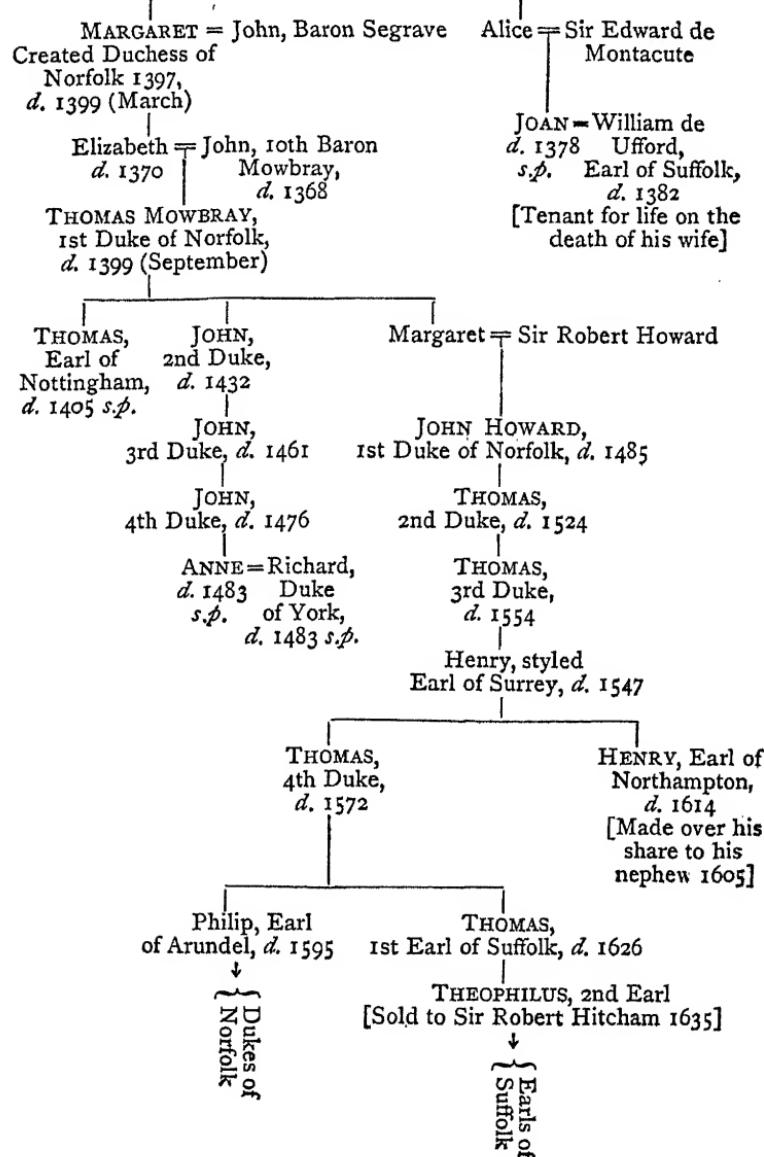
The following tables may be useful as setting forth the rather complicated relationship of the various owners of the castle. The names of the actual owners are printed in small capitals.

I. DESCENDANTS OF ROGER BIGOD



II. DESCENDANTS OF THOMAS DE BROTHERTON

(1) Alice = THOMAS DE BROTHERTON, d. 1338 = (2) MARY, d. 1362



CHAPTER XXIX

CAERPHILLY

CAERPHILLY and Kidwelly are the only two castles of the concentric or Edwardian type in South Wales; but while at Kidwelly the inner ward is built against one side of the outer, at Caerphilly the one is placed entirely inside the other, as at Harlech and Beaumaris. Outside these again is a third and outermost line of circumvallation, so that it will be convenient to speak of the castle as consisting of three wards—the inner, the middle, and the outer. The inner ward consists of a quadrangle 200 feet east and west, and 160 feet north and south. Around this at a short distance is the curtain of the middle ward, north and south of which is, or rather was, a lake, the two together forming, if not a veritable outer ward, at any rate a defence which might take the place of one. The total area thus constituted is about thirty acres, so that the castle is the largest in Wales, and the largest except Windsor in Britain.

The place lies in a depression between the Rhymney on the east, and the Taff on the west. To the north are the mountains of Monmouth and Glamorgan, and to the south a lower range of less than 1,000 feet, which separates this depression from the maritime



CAERPHILLY FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

plain. Thus the castle lay like a watch-dog on the look-out for any forays made by the Welsh through the numerous passes above, and at the same time formed an outpost to the important Norman fortress of Cardiff below.

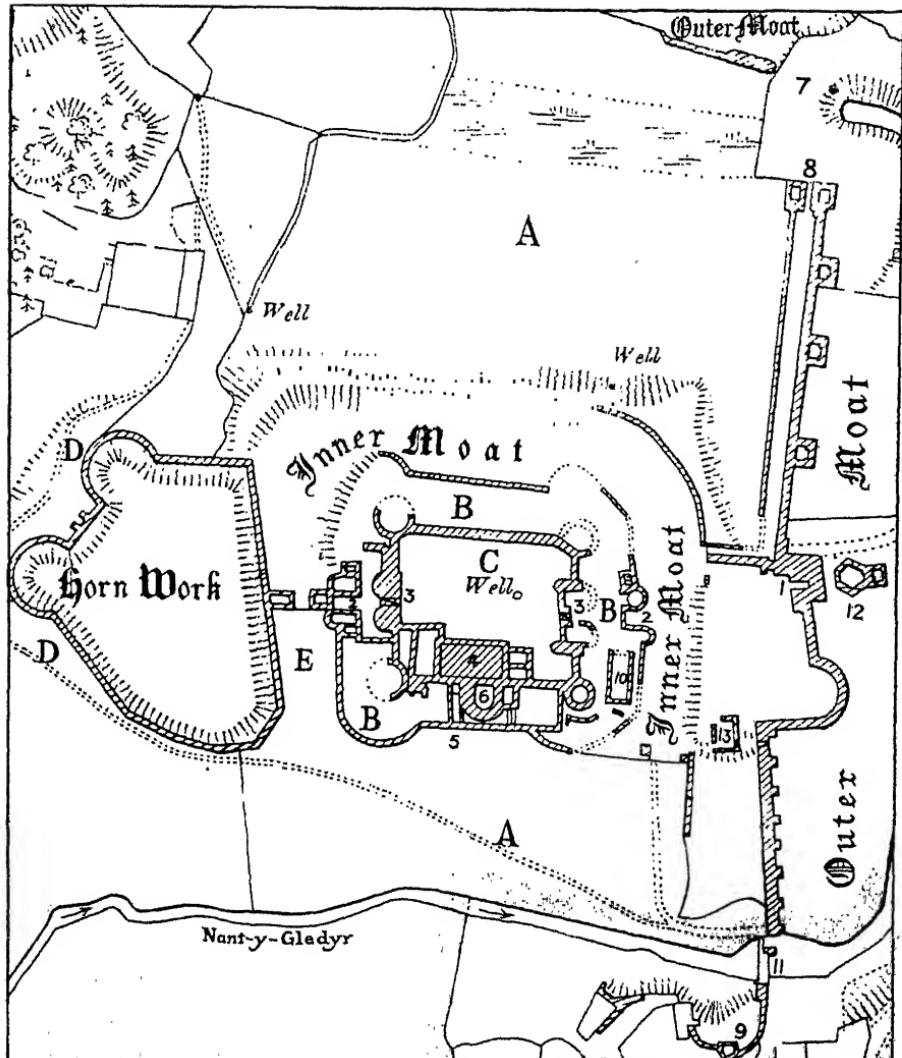
The principal feature of the outer ward is the east front, which consists of a long line of wall with a fine gatehouse rather to the south of its centre. At each end of this wall the streams which flowed through the swamps were dammed up to form the two lakes, leaving a small peninsula projecting from the west side, on which the middle and inner wards were built, and which was then converted into an island by cutting through its neck. The southern end of the great east front of the outer ward, where the present entrance to the castle is, was curved round westwards for a short distance, and here was a postern protected by towers. Where the bridge over the Nant-y-Gledyr now stands was the dam with its sluice. Proceeding northwards from this point, it will be noticed that the wall is strongly buttressed on its outer face until it reaches a garderobe tower where it turns eastwards, and describes a short curve before it reaches the gatehouse. Opposite the garderobe tower on the inner side was the corn mill. North of the gatehouse the wall is continued, protected by three towers projecting from its outer face till it terminates at the northern postern, also flanked by towers. All along the outside of this wall was a moat, now, like the inner one, dry; and at the gatehouse it was crossed by a couple of drawbridges, one on either side of a central pier, which is still standing. Extending westwards from the north side of the gatehouse is a wall which stretches to the edge of the inner moat, and thus cuts off the

southern portion of the outer ward, and enabled it to be defended in case the northern portion should have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Below the northern side of this cross-wall is a passage or "covered way" leading down to the water-gate which opens upon the outer moat, and on the other side of this passage again an inner wall runs northwards parallel to the outer one, the space between them forming a covered gallery with a rampart walk above it leading to the northern postern.

On the west of the outer ward is a platform or horn-work about three acres in extent protecting the castle on that side. It was revetted and surrounded by a low parapet. Between it and the central island is the inner moat, cut through the neck of the peninsula as already noticed, and crossed by a drawbridge; while on its outer side, thus turning it into a second island, is an outer cross-cut connecting the two lakes.

A reference to the plan will make these arrangements clear, but to prevent confusion they may be briefly recapitulated: north and south were the two lakes connected by a cross-cut on the west side; between them were the two islands, the central one, containing the middle and inner wards, being washed on the south by the lake, and on the other three sides by an inner moat, which is separated from the northern lake by an elevated ridge of ground. Lastly, there was the long outer moat protecting the east front of the castle.

The middle ward was enclosed by a low curtain with bastions at its angles, which have been much damaged by the fall of the towers of the inner ward. On its eastern and western sides are gatehouses, the western in tolerable preservation, the eastern much



CAERPHILLY

A.—OUTER WARD	7.—CAUSEWAY
B.—MIDDLE WARD	8.—NORTH POSTERN
C.—INNER WARD	9.—SOUTH POSTERN
1.—GREAT GATEHOUSE	10.—TANK
2, 2.—MIDDLE GATEHOUSES	11.—DAM
3, 3.—INNER GATEHOUSES	12.—PIER
4.—HALL	13.—MILL
5.—WATER GATE	D.—OUTER CROSS CUT
6.—KITCHEN TOWER	E.—INNER CROSS CUT

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broken down, and south of the latter is the large water-tank probably used as a *vivarium* for the supply of fish. The greater part of the south side of this ward is occupied by the kitchen and offices, through which a great vaulted gallery leads down from the hall to a gate opening upon the south lake. On either side of the western gatehouse were cross-walls cutting off the north and south sides of the ward, and serving the same purpose as the cross-wall already noticed in the outer ward.

The inner ward was surrounded by a lofty curtain with round towers at the four corners, and imposing gatehouses in its east and west fronts. Against the south curtain, which contains a mural passage, like that at Carnarvon, is the hall, a splendid apartment 73 feet by 35, and lighted towards the court by four large windows ornamented on the interior with crockets and ball flowers. It is now covered with a modern roof, but the whole of the outer casing of the north wall has been torn away. The chapel, containing a large window, is built against the east end of the hall, and on the west are the living rooms. The western gatehouse is tolerably perfect, and has two large windows towards the ward, corresponding to two in the opposite gatehouse. The eastern gatehouse is similar in plan, but larger ; its outer half has been blown away by gunpowder. When this destruction took place, the four corner towers were also blown to pieces : in the case of the south-eastern tower it was the inner side that fell, the outer side being forced 9 feet out of the perpendicular, but in the other three the outer side was destroyed and the inner was left standing. A similar leaning tower, if old engravings may be trusted, formerly existed at the castle of Caerleon.

At what time this thoroughgoing destruction was perpetrated is a question which can only be answered conjecturally. Clark¹ was inclined to attribute it to the Parliament at the close of the Second Civil War in 1648, their object being to render the castle untenable in the event of another Royalist outbreak; but there is good reason to believe that it took place much earlier, and that the only object of the outrage was to get the stone for use elsewhere. In point of fact almost all the dressed stone from the fireplaces, windows, and doors, as well as from the side of the great hall, has disappeared, and at a now ruined house called the Van, less than a mile from the castle, many of such stones may be seen built up into the walls. Now, as Mr. J. S. Corbett pointed out (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1901), in 1583 Henry, Earl of Pembroke, the then owner of Caerphilly, granted to Thomas Lewis of the Van and his two sons for their lives a lease of the castle with express permission to take out and carry away as much stone as they desired for the purpose of building their house. Nothing is said of lead or wood-work, but probably these materials had been already removed. What is more likely than that the Lewises had recourse to gunpowder as the shortest way of procuring the stone from what was already a dismantled and neglected ruin?

After its destruction Caerphilly went through the same period of neglect and spoliation which we have had to notice elsewhere. At the present day, as much of the castle as has come into the possession of the Marquess of Bute is thoroughly well cared for, but a large part of the outermost defences is still a prey to destructive agencies.

¹ *M.M.A.* i. 335.

Caerphilly is as barren of historical facts as Kidwelly, and as far as we know its great strength was never put to a decisive test—in fact the so-called history of many of our ancient castles is often little more than a catalogue of their successive owners. The lords of Senghenydd, as the district was called, probably had a fortress, either on the site of the later castle or hard by, but the history of the latter does not begin till the last year of Henry III, 1272, when it was founded by Gilbert de Clare, sixth Earl of Hertford, and the third of his name to combine with this title the earldom of Gloucester. Soon afterwards it was besieged by the last Llywelyn, but on the King's intervention the siege was raised. Gilbert died in 1295, and his son and heir, also named Gilbert, was slain at Bannockburn in 1314, leaving Caerphilly and other estates to his sister Eleanor, who married the younger Despencer, one of the favourites of Edward II. It is likely that Despencer enlarged and decorated the hall, the windows of which, as already mentioned, have the characteristic ornamentation of the fourteenth century. In the autumn of 1326, when the King fled before the advance of the Queen and her confederates, he attempted, in company with Despencer, to reach Lundy. Adverse winds, however, compelled him to land on the coast of Wales. On October 16th he was at Chepstow, and later, before his capture at Neath, he paid two visits to Caerphilly. Despencer was executed at Hereford, and his son, after a gallant defence, was compelled to surrender the castle to the representative of the new King. In the sixteenth century it was already in a ruinous condition, and in the time of Henry VIII a part was used as a prison.

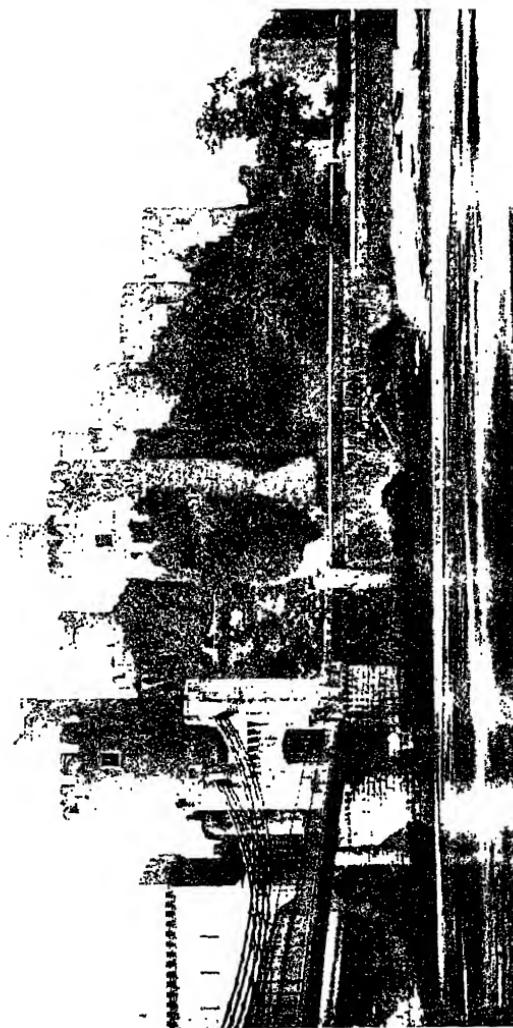
CHAPTER XXX

CONWAY AND CARNARVON

THE castles of Conway, Beaumaris, Carnarvon, and Harlech were built to secure the English conquest of Wales in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Conway, situated on the left bank of the river of the same name, and less than a couple of miles from its mouth, commands the only roads into the district of Snowdon, the ancient Gwynedd, namely that to the south up the river valley and that over the mountain passes to the south-west.¹ Lower down the river on the opposite side was the Norman fortress of Deganwy, which served as an outpost to the English down to the time of Henry III.

The fortifications of the town of Conway form a triangle, with its base to the north, and its apex formed by the castle to the south. They consist of a curtain wall with numerous semicircular bastions open on the inner side, and three gates, each defended by a pair of towers oblong in shape and, like the bastions, rounded on the exterior. The castle, which forms so conspicuous an object when the town is approached from the east, and which then has the appearance of a mass of round towers, is a long and rather narrow building,

¹ A third road along the sands at the foot of the cliffs was available only at low water.



CONWAY FROM THE NORTH-EAST

divided by a cross-wall into two wards, and having an enclosed platform at either extremity. The entrance from the town is at the north-east corner of the outer ward, where a steep ascent leads from the outer gate to a drawbridge thrown across the ditch, and then through an inner gate on to the western platform, which, like the larger one at the opposite end of the castle, is defended by a curtain and three bastions. The castle itself has eight towers, four on each of its longer sides. In the western or cross curtain, and at right angles to the entrance from the drawbridge, is the principal gate. There is no gatehouse, but there is a portcullis chamber, reached by a steep stair from the ramparts, in the thickness of the wall over the gate, and also a row of bold corbels supporting a parapet with machicolations.¹ The fact of the main gateway being at right angles to the entrance enabled the assailants to be taken in flank if they had carried the latter and were filing on to the platform. There is a similar arrangement at Beaumaris.

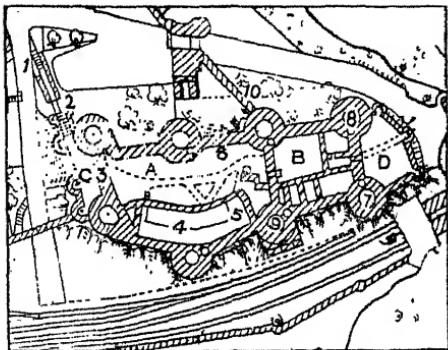
Passing through the gateway, which had a portcullis on its inner side, into the outer ward, it will be seen that the towers are somewhat flattened on their inner face in order to allow the allure or rampart walk to be carried along outside them instead of passing through their centre. On the south side is the hall, with a basement quarried out of the rock beneath it. At the east end behind the dais, and formerly separated by a wooden partition, is the chapel. Hall and chapel have each two large windows towards the court and smaller ones towards the field, and at the east end of the chapel is a round-headed window with a piscina in the south jamb. Opposite the hall door and

¹ There is a similar parapet at the opposite end of the castle.

against the north curtain was the kitchen, now destroyed.

The inner ward is separated from the outer by a cross-wall in which is a shoulder-headed doorway, and the four towers at its angles are distinguished from the others by having each a small round turret, about 15 feet high, into which the vice extends. The south-eastern tower is called the King's and the north-eastern the Queen's tower. The living rooms, consisting of a ground floor and one floor above, are ranged round the south and east sides of this ward. The west end of the south side contained a small hall on the upper floor, communicating at its lower end with the tower called the Broken tower¹—which probably contained the kitchen—and at its upper or eastern end with a drawing-room. This in turn communicates with the King's tower, and so with the Queen's chamber, which occupies the upper floor on the east side. In the Queen's tower is a beautiful little oratory with an apse of three bays, each containing a lancet window. The centre one has been filled with a figure of Queen Eleanor, the wife of Edward I, in stained glass. On either side of the oratory is a small mural chamber with a loop towards the chapel. Under the Queen's chamber is a passage which ends in a doorway opening on to the eastern platform: on either side of the doorway are staircases leading to the first floors of the King's and Queen's towers. The eastern platform is larger than the western, and a door at its northern extremity formerly led to a parapeted staircase descending to the water's edge, but this was removed when the suspension bridge was built in 1822.

¹ This tower has been clumsily repaired of late years.



CONWAY

A.—OUTER WARD	4.—HALL
B.—INNER WARD	5.—CHAPEL
C.—WESTERN PLATFORM	6.—KITCHEN
D.—EASTERN PLATFORM	7.—KING'S TOWER
I.—OUTER GATE	8.—QUEEN'S TOWER
2.—DRAWBRIDGE	9.—BROKEN TOWER
3.—INNER GATE	10.—TOWN WALL

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Carnarvon Castle is arranged on the same general plan as Conway, but it is at once distinguished from it by its towers, which are polygonal in shape, and, except the two gateway towers, are all provided with turrets, while at Conway the towers are rounded and only the four belonging to the inner ward have turrets. Both castles form the southern end of the urban enceinte, but owing to the difference in the configuration of the ground, Carnarvon presents a whole side, and not merely one extremity, to the town ; both, again, consist of an outer and inner ward, but at Carnarvon the building which divided them has gone, leaving the whole of the interior visible from end to end—only the jambs of one side of the gate of communication, together with two portcullis grooves, remain.

The castle stands on a rocky platform commanding the southern extremity of the Menai Straits, just as Beaumaris commands their northern extremity. The River Seiont, which joins the Straits at this point, covers its south and west sides, and the water formerly came right up to the walls, but quays have now been interposed. The north and east sides towards the town were surrounded by a wide ditch, now for the most part filled in. There are two main entrances, the King's gate on the north, and the Queen's gate on the east. The latter has long been closed ; its sill is some 25 feet above the ground, and even when the ditch existed it must have been entered, if at all, by a drawbridge approached by a sloping viaduct. The gate is set beneath a very lofty arch in a gatehouse, the inner side of which seems never to have been finished. Possibly, therefore, any idea of using this gate as an entrance may have been abandoned after

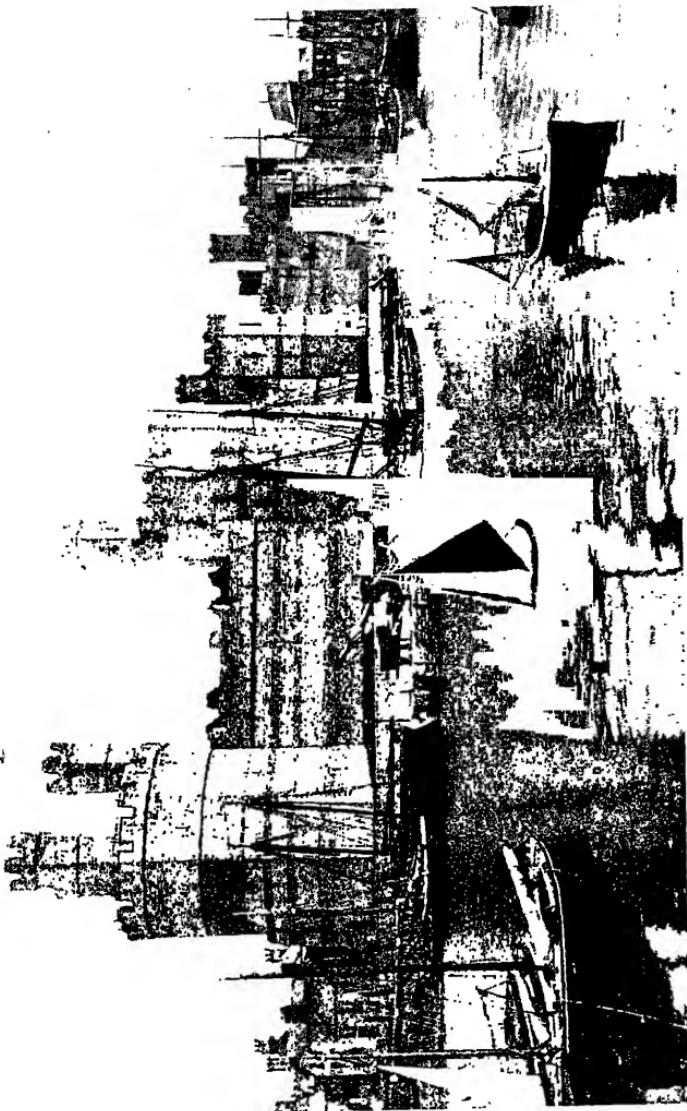
it was finished, and it only served the purposes of hoisting up supplies from a boat in the ditch below.¹

The King's gatehouse, which now forms the only entrance to the castle, has also a very lofty arch, with another arch beneath it containing the gate. The entrance is vaulted and has *meurtrières* or holes in the vault for the purpose of molesting an attacking party. Above the gate is a statue of Edward II. Passing through the gatehouse and facing south, the principal towers, starting from the right, are the Well tower, the Eagle tower,² the Prince's tower (in the south-west corner), the Exchequer tower, the Black tower, and (beyond the Queen's gatehouse) the Granary tower. These towers consist of a basement and three floors, the basement being below, and the first floor at the level of, the ward.

The two curtain walls, that on the north and that on the south, present a striking difference in their structure. The former, towards the town, has two rows of loops, and its inner face may have supported ranges of soldiers' quarters built against it; the latter, towards the river, is of wonderful thickness, and from the Queen's gate to the Prince's tower contains a broad and lofty passage, with here and there a vaulted chamber. This passage is carried through the inner wall of the towers, where it communicates with mural chambers and garderobes, and is looped towards the river, with occasional windows and doorways towards the ward. Above this is what seems to have been

¹ It was from this gate that the Prince of Wales was presented to the people in 1911.

² Two storeys of the Eagle tower were covered in for the investiture of the Prince of Wales in 1911.



CARNARVON FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

designed as a second passage, but if it ever had a roof and inner wall, these have disappeared, so that it now forms an open walk at a lower level than the allure or rampart walk. This second passage, but not the lower one, is continued at the west end of the castle between the Prince's and the Eagle towers. In the Well tower, the well descends in the thickness of the wall, and adjoining its mouth is a small room in which the hoisting apparatus was worked. The western tower of the King's gateway is prolonged in its rear into a square building intended for a prison, and between this and the Well tower was the kitchen. Opposite to the kitchen may be seen the foundations of the hall, which was built against the south curtain, and must have been fully proportioned to the size of the castle, being 100 feet long by 60 wide.

Of all the Welsh castles, Carnarvon is the best cared for, and is honourably distinguished from them all by the total absence of ivy; thus the full beauty of the masonry is preserved, and the history of the fabric can be read by all who care to read it.¹

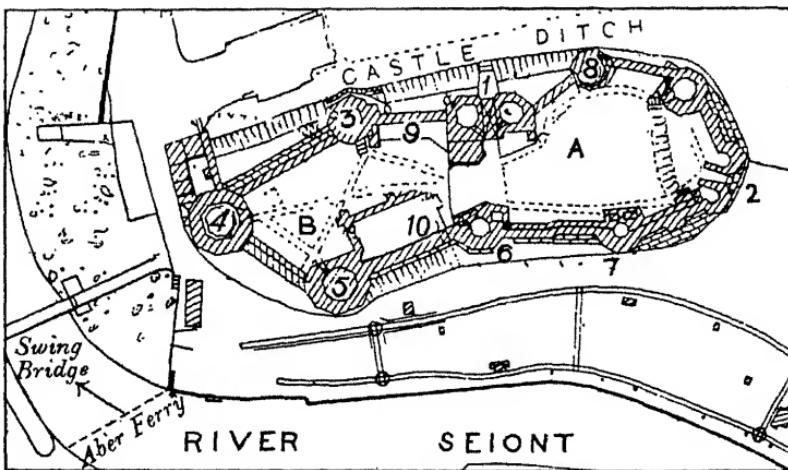
Both Conway and Carnarvon were begun by Edward I, in 1283, to secure his conquest of Gwynedd. Next year the King made a progress through Wales, and at Carnarvon his son, afterwards Edward II, was born. At this time the castle was only rising from its foundations, and in spite of the tradition to the contrary, could hardly have been in a condition to receive the royal party; the event is therefore more likely to have taken place at a

¹ The material is a dark grey Anglesey limestone, relieved with bands of a coarse crystalline sandstone, also from Anglesey.

house in the town.¹ In 1295, the outbreak of Madoc, a son of the last Prince of Gwynedd, brought the King into North Wales once more, and for the last time. He reached Conway with the van of his army about Christmas, and after making a dash westwards as far as Bangor, and losing his commissariat train to the Welsh, he fell back on Conway, where he had to sustain a siege on very short rations. A sudden rise of the river prevented the rest of his army from coming to his relief for a time, but the water soon subsided and the Welsh were driven off. The outbreak was not finally suppressed till the following summer. Conway had escaped, but the insurgents had made havoc of Carnarvon, the re-building of which was now to be undertaken ; by 1299 it was so far finished as to be in a fencible state, but it was not till 1322, fifteen years after his father's death, that the latest additions were completed by Edward II, whose statue, as already noticed, still fills the niche above the main entrance.

So far was North Wales from the centre of affairs that the history of its royal castles from the time of Edward I down to the Civil War of the seventeenth century is almost a blank. Conway had its governor, and Carnarvon its constable. The former place in 1401 fell for a few days into the hands of the followers of Glyndwr, but the latter defied his attempts. At the opening of the great Civil War, Conway was held for the King by Archbishop Williams of York, a native of the town, who spent considerable sums upon its

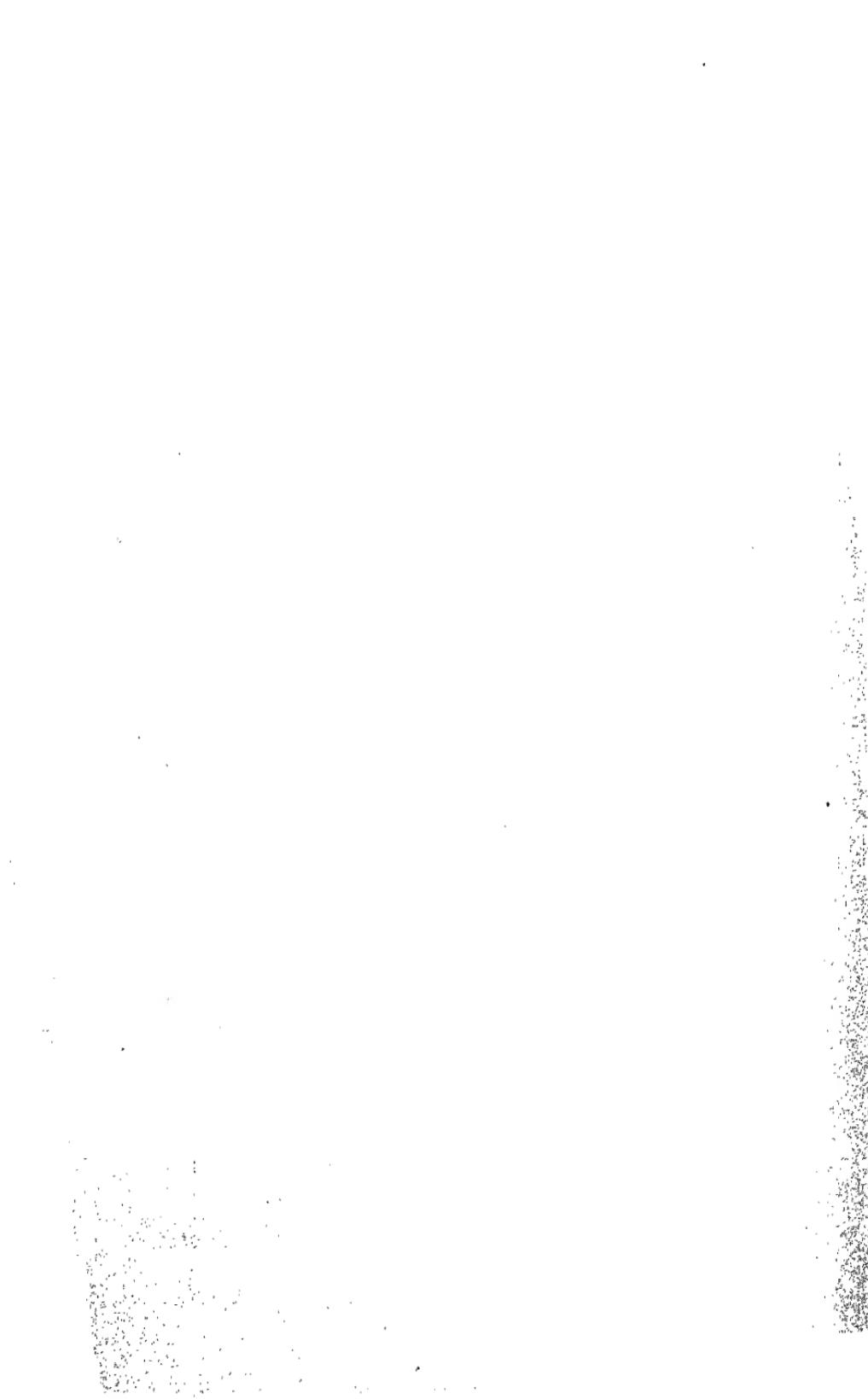
¹ The castle was not begun till 1282 at the earliest, perhaps not till 1283. The Prince was born on April 25th, 1284. In 1288-1289 the building was still in progress, and as stated in the text was not finally completed till 1322, so the work took about forty years altogether.



CARNARVON

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—INNER WARD
- 1.—KING'S GATE
- 2.—QUEEN'S GATE
- 3.—WELL TOWER
- 4.—EAGLE TOWER
- 5.—PRINCE'S TOWER
- 6.—EXCHEQUER TOWER
- 7.—BLACK TOWER
- 8.—GRANARY TOWER
- 9.—KITCHEN
- 10.—HALL

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repairs. In 1644, much to his chagrin, he was superseded by Sir John Owen, of Clenenau, one of the staunchest Royalists in North Wales, who held it till the end of the war in 1646. Early in that year the fall of Chester set the Parliamentary commanders free for the reduction of the Welsh fortresses, and by June, Conway, Denbigh, Rhuddlan, and Harlech were the only ones that still held out for the King. Conway was invested by Major-General Mytton, and the Archbishop, aware that resistance was now hopeless, and unwilling to see his native place destroyed, lent his assistance to the besiegers. The town was taken by storm in August, but Sir John Owen held out in the castle till November.

Carnarvon had already fallen. After evacuating Chester, Lord Byron and his chief officers had thrown themselves into the castle, which was now besieged by Mytton, who received the support of the neighbouring gentry. The garrison made two desperate sallies, and did their best to keep the enemy "amused," but on June 4th Byron capitulated on honourable terms.

When the Second Civil War broke out in 1648, Carnarvon was the only county in North Wales that gave the Government any trouble. Sir John Owen again took up arms, but was defeated in a skirmish by the seaside near Bangor. He was taken to London, tried for conspiracy, and condemned to death. Thanks, however, to the intercession of Hutchinson and Ireton, who were moved to pity by the brave demeanour of the poor Welsh knight, his life was spared and he was allowed to return to his home at Clenenau, where he ended his days in peace.

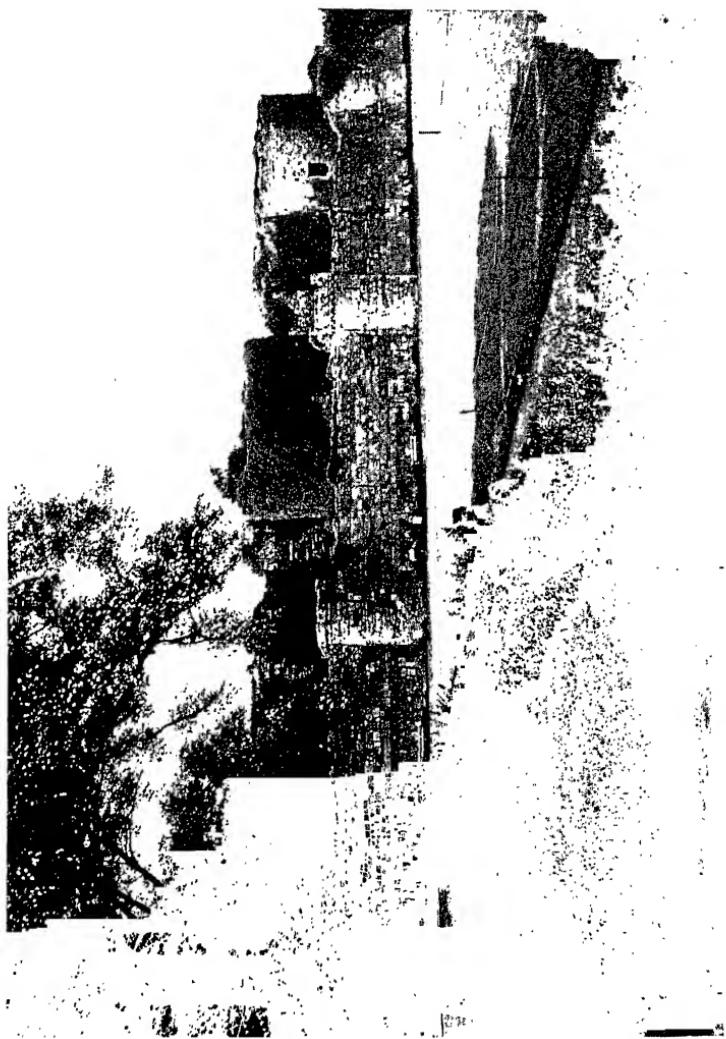
CHAPTER XXXI

BEAUMARIS AND HARLECH

AT Beaumaris and at Harlech we have the orthodox type of concentric castle—ward within ward or fortress within fortress—so that after the outer line of fortifications had been taken, the inner line could still be defended. At Conway and at Carnarvon the character of the site required that one ward should be placed behind the other, and thus theoretically both might have been assailed at once, but as a matter of fact, the siege trains possessed by the Welsh in those days were so defective that such powerful strongholds could only be reduced by a blockade.

On the other hand, the seashore on which Beaumaris is built offered no obstacle to the regular plan, and at Harlech the shape and extent of the surface of the rock made it possible to construct at least two concentric wards, while its slopes admitted of other defences which will be described in their proper place.

Beaumaris consists of a strongly fortified inner ward, quadrangular in shape, and of an outer ward encircling it, defended by an octagonal curtain of an elevation considerably lower than that of the inner one, the whole being executed with mathematical precision. The result is a building of unique interest, and a



BEAUMARIS FROM THE NORTH



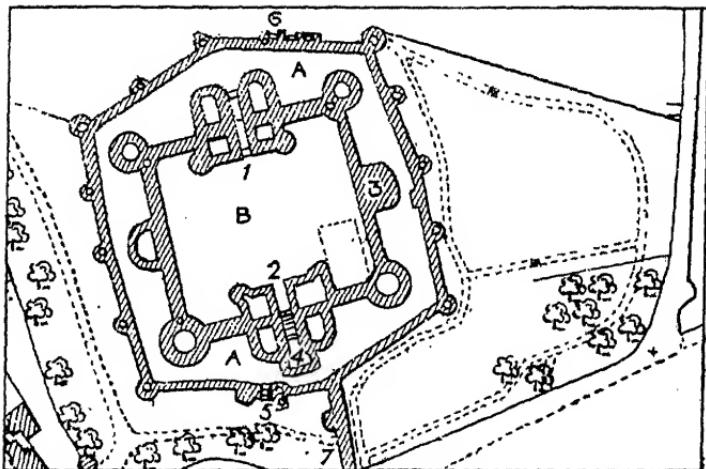
historic monument of the highest importance, and nowhere, it might be thought, could the ideas of the Edwardian architect be studied with greater advantage. But as it is, the present condition of the ruins can only be described as lamentable. The walls and towers are so effectually shrouded in thick masses of ivy that any beauties of outline or detail must be sought for in vain. Added to the ivy a tangled undergrowth of sturdy brambles, coarse brush-wood, and even trees are all contending for the mastery, so that the careful work of the masons who reared this great pile is being steadily destroyed. What the appearance of the castle might be if all these noxious growths were cleared away, may be gathered from the two views given by Clark,¹ whether they were taken while the building was still cared for, or whether the stripping is due to the artist.

The enceinte of the inner ward has a drum tower at each of the four corners, and in the east and west sides have each a half-round tower in the centre with the sides lengthened inwards. The centre of each of the other two sides is occupied by a gatehouse, consisting of two oblong towers, the outer extremities being rounded, and the inner rectangular with a circular turret at each outer angle. The first floor of the side of the northern gatehouse towards the court contains the hall, lighted by five handsome windows of two lights each and a transom. The corresponding part of the opposite gatehouse is broken down. The central tower on the east side contains the chapel, with a polygonal apse, lighted by five lancets towards the field, and two small chambers on each side of the entrance, as at Conway. A gallery, smaller than that at

¹ *M.M.A.* i. 214, 215.

Carnarvon, is carried in the thickness of the wall round three sides of the court, but its loops are concealed by the ivy. Built up in front of the southern gateway is a kind of square barbican with the entrance on the west side, so that a party which had effected an entrance into the outer ward would have to bear to the right, and thus present their left flank to the garrison which manned the adjacent tower. The outer ward consists of the comparatively narrow space between the two curtains, the inner of which, as has been already remarked, rises to a considerable height above the outer. The latter has eight salient angles in order to give room for the projecting towers of the inner ward, and the octagonal outline is the result. The gatehouse of this outer curtain stands slightly to the west of the barbican, and is protected on its east side by a spur wall running southward from the curtain, and formerly ending, it is conjectured, in a round tower. The object of this wall, says Clark, was to cover the landing of supplies, and to prevent an enemy creeping round on the east by the shore and so surprising the castle or town. The north gateway of the outer wall seems never to have been finished, but it may have been used as a sally-port; at any rate, there is a main gate with a smaller one on each side of it, and outside are four looped buttresses, the western one, on which side the Welsh were most likely to make their approach, having the greater projection.

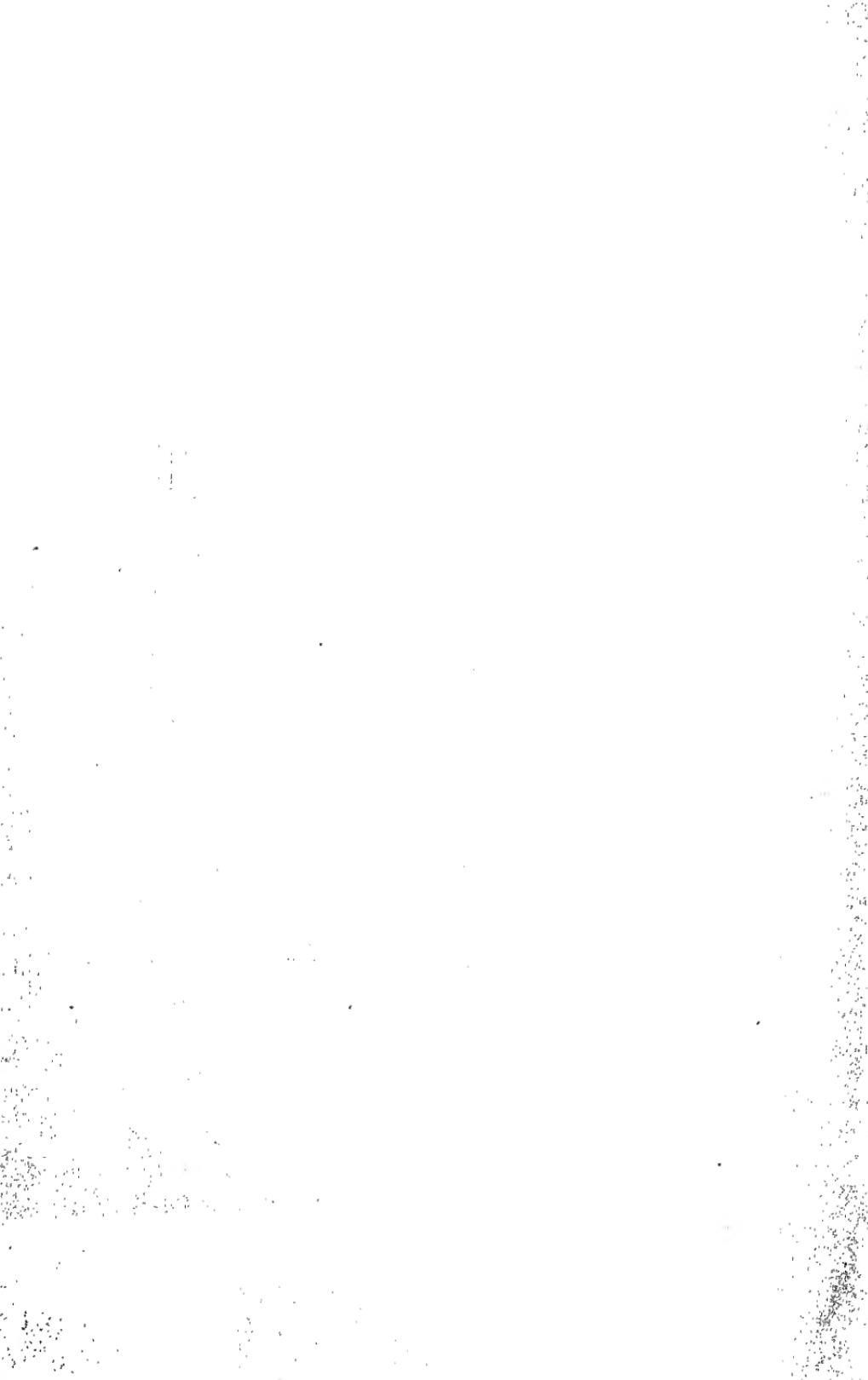
Harlech Castle rises majestically from a projecting rock facing seawards. In the thirteenth century the sea came much nearer to the base of this rock than it does at present, and supplies were brought to the defenders of the castle by ship. To the north, the

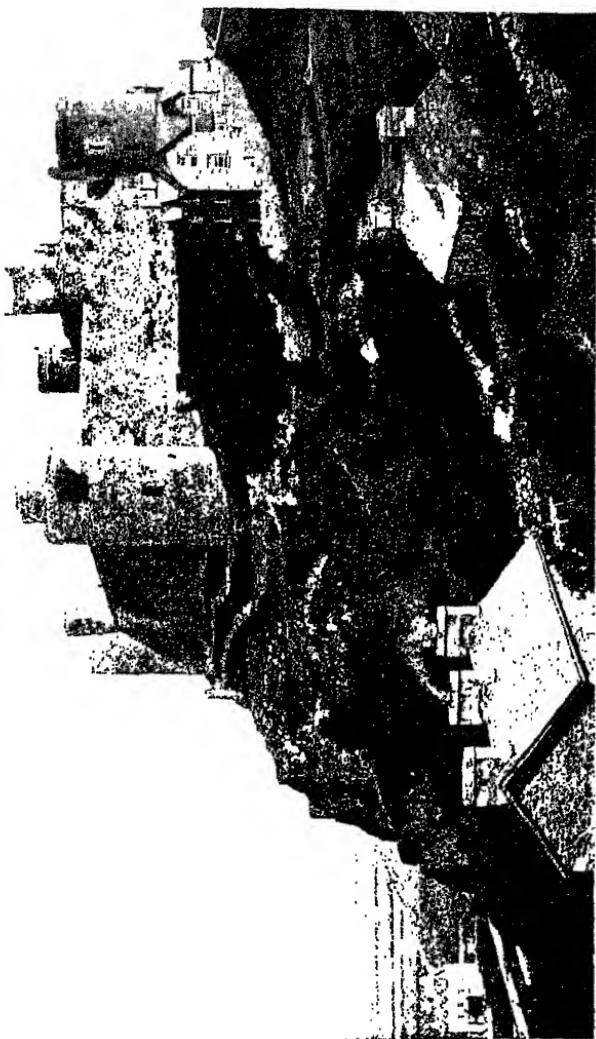


BEAUMARIS

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—INNER WARD
- 1.—NORTHERN GATEHOUSE
- 2.—SOUTHERN GATEHOUSE
- 3.—CHAPEL
- 4.—BARBICAN
- 5.—OUTER GATEHOUSE
- 6.—SALLY-PORT
- 7.—SPUR WALL

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HARLECH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

castle commands a fine panorama of the Snowdon range, with the Lleyn to the north-west, while behind the town to the east the land rises 2,362 feet to the summit of the Rhinog Fawr. As at Beaumaris, there is an inner ward with drum towers at the four corners, closely surrounded at a much lower elevation by an outer line of *enceinte*; but on two sides there is also a third line enclosing a considerable area—a feature which occurs on a larger scale at Caerphilly. On the other two sides the castle is immediately surrounded by a deep ditch.

Instead of two gatehouses to the inner ward, as at Beaumaris, there is only one, situated towards the town in the middle of the east side, but it resembles those of Beaumaris in shape, consisting as it does of two elongated towers rounded towards the field and rectangular towards the ward. It is 80 feet wide and 54 feet long, with a projecting stairway turret at each of the outer angles within the ward. Each tower has a basement at the ground level and two upper storeys, all three stages being divided transversely into two rooms. The second floor communicates on either side with the *alure* of the curtain, and at each point of communication there is a mural garderobe, the one to the north being partly corbelled out in the angle between the tower and the curtain. The long entrance passage between the towers, which was defended by doors and grates, also has two floors above it similarly divided by a cross-wall into two narrow rooms, the eastern one on each floor serving as an oratory with a lancet window above the altar. The lower one also served as a portcullis chamber.

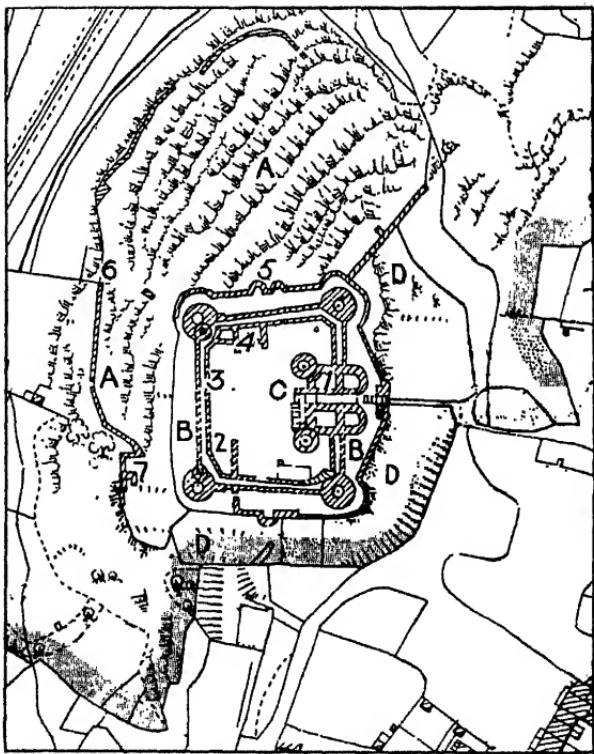
The towers at the corners of the ward, now mere shells, have a basement below the ward level, and

three upper floors, the first being at the level of the ward, from which in the two western towers it is entered; in the two eastern towers it could only be reached, like the basement, by a trap-door and ladder from above. The two western towers, again, have a vice at their junction with the western curtain ascending to turrets, resembling those at Conway; the two eastern towers have no turrets, and their roofs are reached by straight stairs from the alure of the curtain. All the towers have garderobes where they join one of the adjacent curtains; at the west ends of the north and south curtains are broad exterior buttresses to help support these chambers and contain the shafts. The alure of the curtain is carried round the two western towers on corbels.

The hall—a fine room with a lofty roof—was placed against the western curtain; its north end wall still remains, dividing it from what was probably a drawing-room, while the kitchen was at the other end. Just east of the drawing-room against the north curtain is the chapel, of which the east wall, containing a window, remains. A little to the east of this is a postern in the curtain leading into the outer ward.

The outer ward varies in breadth from 8 to 30 feet; it is surrounded by a wall, the lower part of which is a revetment, with rounded corners, a parapet, and alure. In the centre of the north side is a postern between two turrets, and in that of the east side is the main entrance to the castle, also set between two turrets. This entrance is now approached by a causeway carried across the ditch, but formerly by a bridge long enough to contain one if not two drawbridges.

To the north of the castle a shelving rock slopes



HARLECH

- A.—OUTER WARD
- B.—MIDDLE WARD
- C.—INNER WARD
- D.—DITCH
- 1.—GATEHOUSE
- 2.—KITCHEN
- 3.—HALL
- 4.—CHAPEL
- 5.—POSTERN
- 6.—WATER GATE
- 7.—UPPER GATE

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for some distance down to the edge of the cliff, which is here surmounted by the third line of enclosure already mentioned. Starting from the north-eastern bastion of the outer ward, this third line of wall runs past the north end of the ditch and then bends westwards round the rocky promontory till it reaches the south-western corner of the outer ward. On its west side a few yards above the modern road is the water-gate by which this enclosure was entered from the beach. This gate was defended in front by a pit crossed by a drawbridge, and from it a steepish road leads up to a second gate, also defended by a pit and drawbridge, opposite the south-west corner of the inner ward. Here the road turns northwards, and is continued above its former course round the north-western bastion of the outer ward to the postern in the north wall of the latter. The whole of this outermost work has degenerated into a wilderness, and, like much of the curtain of the outer ward, is smothered in ivy.

Beaumaris Castle was begun after the rising of Madoc in 1295, and was finished in 1298. A letter written in Norman French, and dated February 1296, gives a graphic account of the state of the works at that time: "The work during the whole of the winter and up to the present has been very costly, £250 being wanted every week. Four hundred masons are at work—some cutting and others laying the stones; 1,000 less skilled artisans making mortar and lime, etc., 200 carters, and 30 smiths and carpenters; 160 carts and wagons are in use, and 30 boats bringing up the stone. There is a garrison of 10 men-at-arms, 20 crossbows, and 100 foot. The debt is already

over £500. But a great deal has been done ; the wall of the castle is in places 28 feet high, and at the lowest 20 feet ; ten towers have been commenced outside, and four inside ; four great gates have been hung, which are locked at night . . . and each will have three portcullises. A forty-ton vessel fully laden will be able to sail at high tide up to the biggest gate in the face of any Welsh enemy.”¹ The letter concludes with an earnest request for more money. It seems that there was some rivalry between the builders of the different castles, and that certain money intended for Carnarvon had been diverted to Beaumaris.

The lofty rock of Harlech was the site of a Welsh stronghold long before the days of the Edwardian castle, and legend connects it with Brân the blessed, the first Christian King of Britain, and his sister Bronwen. In 1283 the place was occupied by the English, and two years later the castle was begun. It was an expensive undertaking, and cost more than either Conway or the first building of Carnarvon. But the work was thoroughly well done, and together with its neighbour of Criccieth—another reconstructed Welsh stronghold—Harlech kept its maritime communications open, and successfully resisted the attempts of the insurgents of 1295. In 1404 Harlech was captured by Glyndwr, then at the height of his fortunes, and held by him against the royal forces for four years. In the Wars of the Roses it was occupied for the Lancastrians by Jasper Tudor, the half-brother of Henry VI ; and hither his Queen and her son fled for refuge after the defeat of Northampton in 1460. Eight years later it was taken by the Yorkists under William Herbert, in spite of the

¹ Dr. J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I*, pp. 268, 269.

gallant resistance of the men of Harlech, who held out stubbornly under their gallant leader Dafydd ab Jevan ab Einion, who boasted that he had already held a castle in France until every old woman in Wales heard of it, and would now hold a castle in Wales till every old woman in France heard of it. Herbert received the earldom of Pembroke, forfeited by Tudor, as his reward. In the Civil War Harlech was the last castle to hold out for the King ; the governor was Col. William Owen, brother of the defender of Conway ; and he did not surrender till March 13th, 1647. Col. Richard Bulkeley had surrendered Beaumaris to Mytton in the previous June.

Like Carnarvon, Harlech is still a royal castle, the post of governor being held by the Wynnes of Peniarth.

CHAPTER XXXII

DUNSTANBURGH

THE battered ruins of Dunstanburgh are situated on a wild headland overhanging the sea about two miles south-east of the village of Embleton, and are approached by a rough track leading across the grass-covered sand-hills, which here and there are gay with patches of *Geranium sanguineum*. "As you come along the shore," says Mr. Bates, "a crescent of black cliffs rises a hundred feet straight out of the waves to form the northern rampart of the castle. You almost expect to be challenged by the basalt giants that are drawn up like so many warders round the base of the stately Lilburn Tower, and might reasonably conclude that the shattered turrets of the Great Gatehouse were sustained by power of enchantment, so much do their fantastic outlines, peering mysteriously over the green slope of the western escarpment, seem to set all known principles of gravitation at defiance. High as these turrets are, in a strong north-east gale the sea dashes up through the Rumble Churn into a fountain above them."¹

The area enclosed by the castle is 10 acres, on which 240 bushels of wheat are said to have been raised in a single year. It thus has the largest area

¹ *Border Holds*, p. 167. See note, p. 46.



DUNSTANBURGH FROM THE NORTH-WEST

of any castle in Northumberland, and from the number of live stock that could be kept within the walls, it seems to have been designed to sustain a long siege. The north and east sides, which are washed by the sea, are longer than the other two; on the north the summit of the precipitous basalt cliffs requires no other protection; the east side, where the beach slopes to the water, is fortified by a rubble-built wall; and as for the other two, the western, crowning a very lofty and very steep escarpment, and extending from the northern cliff to the great gatehouse at the southwest corner, is defended by a strong curtain which contains the Lilburn tower and John of Gaunt's gateway, and is continued round the south side, the shortest and most exposed of the four, where it has the further protection of a ditch.

The edifice belongs almost entirely to the fourteenth century. Built by Thomas of Lancaster, the lord also of Kenilworth and Pontefract, in its second decade, it was altered and added to sixty years afterwards by John of Gaunt, who had married the great-niece of the founder. It is not improbable that Earl Thomas in building this new fortress was actuated by motives of prudence, and designed it as a refuge in case he should be driven by political events from his other castles; and it is a significant fact that his predecessor as a popular leader, Simon de Montfort, had already purchased the site, though he did not live to build upon it.

The great gatehouse must have been a magnificent pile when perfect. In some respects it resembles the earlier example at Warkworth; there is the same projection on corbels over the gate, and both buildings are flat towards the ward, but this

one must have been the wider and loftier of the two, and the flanking towers towards the field are rounded instead of being semi-octagonal. The entrance passage, which is now higher than its original level, is vaulted, with six ribs, and the inner gateway has grooves for a portcullis. Over the passage was a large room which perhaps, like the chamber in the same position at Kidwelly, served as a hall. The towers contained a basement and two storeys, and were arranged on the same plan, so that, *mutatis mutandis*, one description will do for both. Attached to the towers on either side of the gateway were stair turrets, which were entered from the rampart walk above the gate: higher up they were corbelled out, in such a way that the corners from this point upwards were rectangular, as may be still seen in the western tower. On either side of the entrance passage were guard-rooms, occupying respectively the north-eastern and north-western corners of the towers: they were entered by doorways near the inner gate, but the western one is built up, and the room is now entered from the ward through what was formerly a window. The towers themselves were entered by doorways opening from the ward, near which, in the angles farthest from the gateway, were vices leading to the upper floors. The basement of the western tower has a fireplace in the north wall, a garderobe door in the west wall, and three loops, splayed with two ribs, to the south. The first floor had a fireplace in the west wall, near a stair leading to a garderobe, and a splayed two-light window to the south, now much broken, but the corresponding window in the eastern tower is fairly perfect. The second floor is also more perfect in this tower.

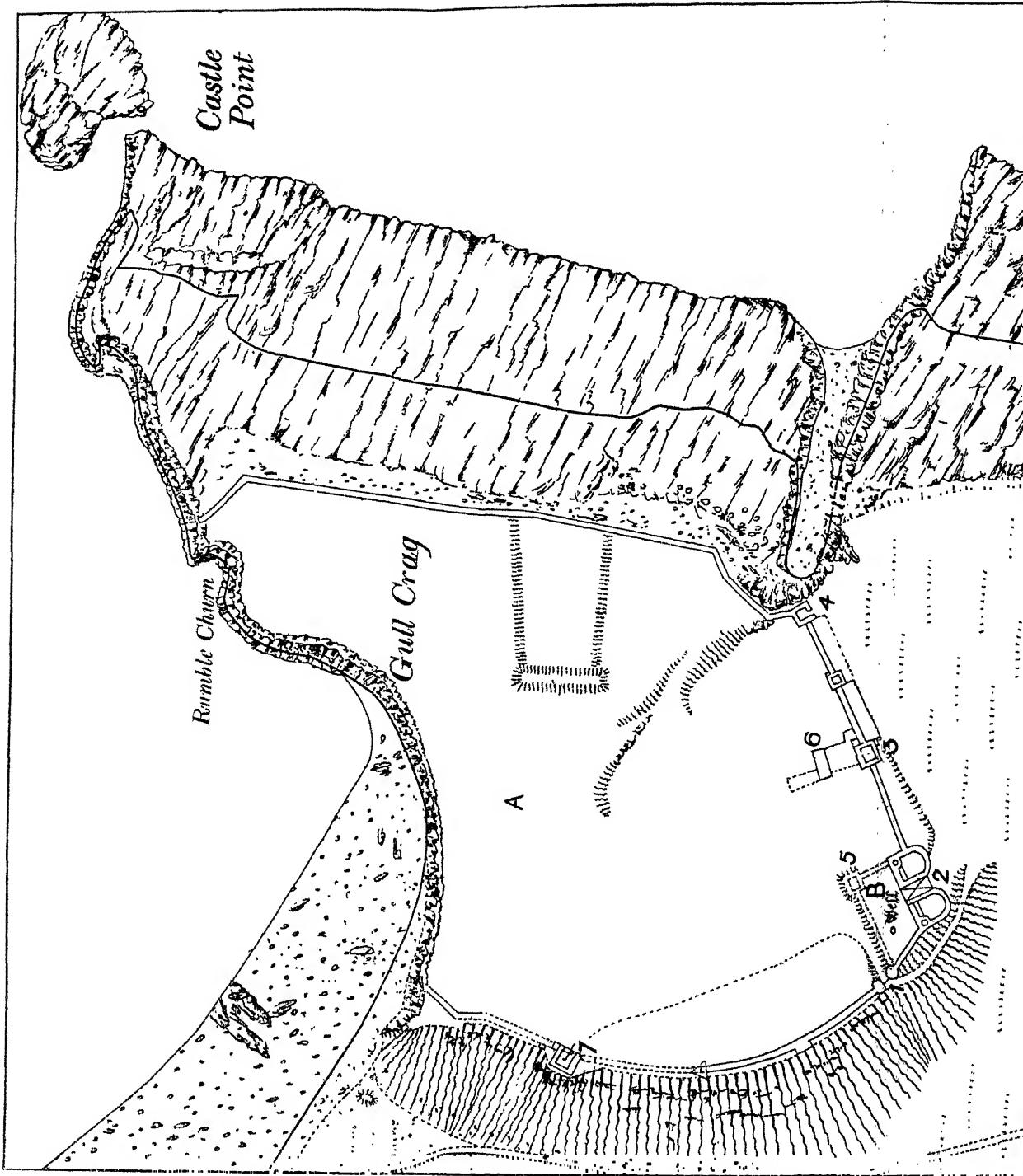
John of Gaunt effected an alteration in this gatehouse, which may be compared with one which has been already described as taking place at an earlier date at Ludlow. The object in both cases was the same, namely, to transform a building designed as a gatehouse into a solid tower; but, as it will be remembered, the change at Ludlow was far more complete, and, indeed, on so elaborate a scale as to conceal the original design of the building from future generations. Here no such effacement was attempted. The gateways at either end of the entrance passage were simply walled up, and a new gateway, of which only slight traces now remain, was erected in the west curtain, a short distance to the north of the old one. This gateway was approached by a path leading round the south-west corner of what was now the donjon or keep. From the south end of this new gate a wall, running eastward and then southward as far as the north-east corner of the great gatehouse, enclosed an inner ward a quarter of an acre in extent, which contained a well and probably also the kitchen. At its north-east angle was a tower, which perhaps contained the chapel.

Following the site of the curtain northwards from John of Gaunt's gateway, and passing the base of a smaller tower, the Lilburn tower, one of the most conspicuous features of the whole ruin, is reached. It takes its name from John de Lilburn, one of the constables of the castle after the death of Earl Thomas, and projects about 13 feet from the line of the enceinte; round its base are the remarkable basalt pillars already mentioned. The alure was carried through the east wall, but the south-east angle, which contained the stair, has altogether gone, leaving the

interior exposed. The first floor has two-light windows in the north and west walls, the second floor only in the north wall; both floors have garderobes, opening from the south-west corner. The three remaining angles of the tower have square turrets rising above the roof; the one to the north-west was struck by lightning in a terrific storm in June 1885, but has been carefully repaired. Immediately to the north of the Lilburn tower is a round-headed postern, opening upon the escarpment in the direction of Embleton.

East of the great gatehouse a small platform is corbelled out from the allure, apparently to support a military engine of some kind, and beyond this, after passing the Constable's tower and a much smaller square turret, the south curtain terminates in a postern tower, overlooking the great chasm or inlet of the sea known as the Eggingclough. The two upper floors of the Constable's tower had fireplaces in the west wall, and two-light windows of the same type as those elsewhere in the south wall. The vice was in the north-east corner, and passages led from it to garderobes in the thickness of the curtain. The postern or Eggingclough tower¹ has lost the greater part of its south wall, as well as its garderobe turret, overhanging the chasm. The two upper floors, reached by a vice in the south-east corner, had the usual two-light windows in the north, and fireplaces in the east wall, while the passage to the garderobes opened from the north-east corner. In the ward to the north of the Constable's tower are some foundations, supposed to be those of the Constable's hall and adjacent offices,

¹ The name of "Queen Margaret's tower" has only been applied to this tower in modern times. It is doubtful whether that Queen was ever at Dunstanburgh.



DUNSTANBURGH

A.—OUTER WARD
B.—INNER WARD
1.—JOHN OF GAUNT'S GATEWAY
2.—GREAT GATEHOUSE
3.—CONSTABLE'S TOWER
4.—BEGGINGCLOUGH TOWER
5.—CHAPEL
6.—CONSTABLE'S HALL
7.—LILBURN TOWER

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the
saintion of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*



and running westward from the east curtain are two lines of foundations, which may be those of the barn in which the crops raised in the castle area were stored. In the north-eastern angle of the enclosure is the Rumble Churn, an opening in the roof of a cavern penetrated by the sea.

The glory of Dunstanburgh lasted little more than 200 years. Begun in 1313, by 1538 it was already "very ruinous and of small strength,"¹ and in 1550 "in wonderful great decay,"² and when granted in 1617 by James I to Sir William Grey of Wark, the canny King must have been glad to be quit of the annual payment of £20, which was still allowed for the upkeep.

Dunstanburgh does not figure in Border warfare. Its position, aloof from the main roads, and its long tenure by the House of Lancaster, tended to isolate it from the quarrels between the two kingdoms and to connect its fortunes with the south rather than with the north. The site was bought by the Earl of Leicester in 1256, and on his death at Evesham it was forfeited to the Crown. Henry III then granted it to his younger son Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. Again forfeited by the rebellion of Edmund's son, Earl Thomas, in 1322, it was restored by Edward II to Thomas's younger brother Henry, the third earl, from whom it descended by marriage to John of Gaunt, and so to the Crown in the person of his son, Henry IV. It is to the Wars of the Roses that it owes its place in English history, but the part it then played has already been told in connexion with its greater neighbour, Bamburgh.³

¹ Report made to Henry VIII, printed in *Border Holds*, pp. 182, 183.

² Sir Robert Bowes, *Book of the State of the Marches*, *ibid.* p. 186.

³ See above, pp. 53-57.

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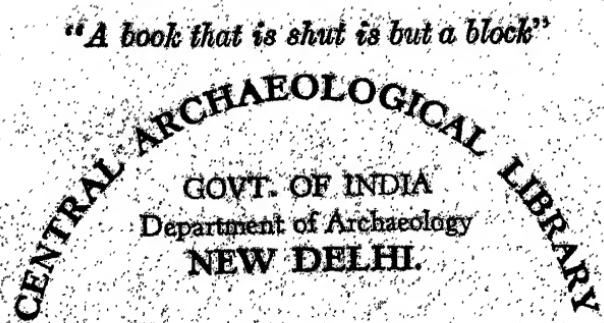
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